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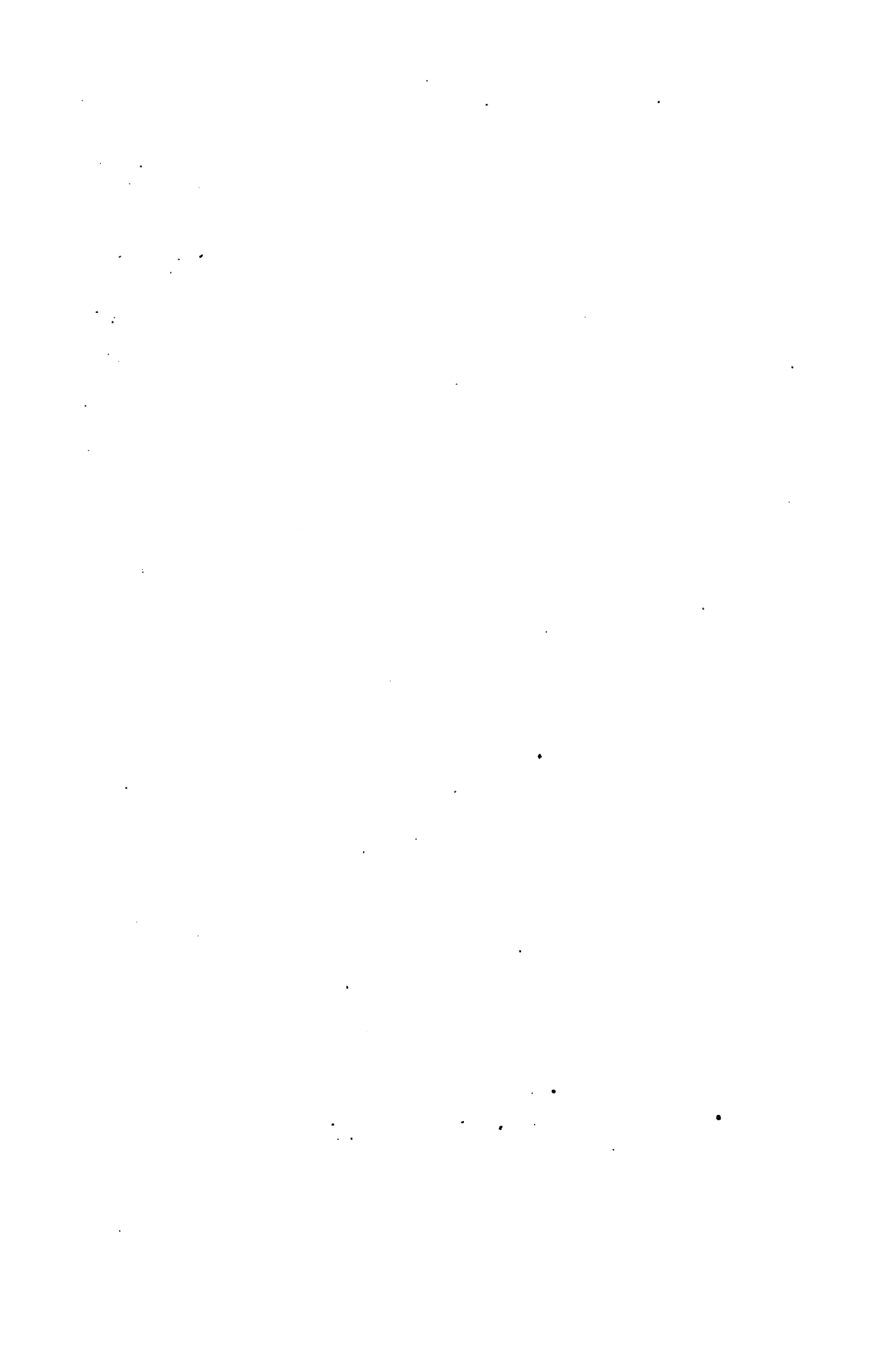
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CHRISTIAN SACERDOTALISM.

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CHRISTIAN SACERDOTALISM

VIEWED FROM

A LAYMAN'S STANDPOINT

OR TRIED BY

HOLY SCRIPTURE AND THE EARLY FATHERS.

WITH

A SHORT SKETCH OF THE STATE OF THE
CHURCH FROM THE END OF THE THIRD TILL THE REFORMATION IN
THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

JOHN JARDINE, M.A. LL.D.



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PREFACE.

IN THESE DAYS of doubt and danger and difficulty, it becomes all sound churchmen, and especially all true believers in Christianity, to examine well the foundations of their faith, and “to try the spirits whether they are of God.”¹ Some of our High Church spiritual advisers would have us go back to the pre-Reformation times, and be satisfied with the Church as it was then. Some talk a good deal about primitive antiquity as the proper guide, without defining what they mean by primitive antiquity. Others would refer us to the Catholic Church, consisting partly of the Eastern or Greek Church, and partly of the Western or Latin Church, a kind of *ignis fatuus*. Others are ready to swear by the Fathers of the Church, forgetting they were but fallible men like ourselves, who often contradict one another and even sometimes themselves. Another school of thought would pooh! pooh! the Fathers altogether, ignoring the fact that it is by the testimony of the Fathers we have the Canon of Scripture confirmed to us, and that to such testimony we are in-

¹ 1 John iv. 1.

debted for that valuable book of Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, 'The Credibility of Scripture.'

There are two extremes to which the human mind continually tends—the one is believing too much, the other too little. The former is exemplified in the credulity of those who are ready to swallow all that the Fathers have said, without bringing them to the test of the Word of God. The latter in the incredulity of those who despise all that the Fathers have written, because some have made a bad use of them, just as if the abuse of a thing was a good reason for discarding it altogether.

The object of the following pages is to examine whether there is any ground for the sacerdotal theory in the New Testament, and how it gradually rose when inspiration ceased ; to show that it began in the times of what are called the Apostolic Fathers, and that it was afterwards established and confirmed before the Council of Nice (325) ; that in the fourth century the Church became corrupt both in doctrine and practice ; which corruption went on increasing till it ended in papal tyranny and despotism ; that the papal power claimed sovereignty, not only in spiritual but in temporal things, over all Christendom ; till the corruption, tyranny, and oppression became so great, that they brought about the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

The writer would commend this subject to the attention of the laity, as it is peculiarly a lay question. He is convinced that soon after the apostolic times the laity were gradually deprived, as a community, of their right of governing the Church, by the formation of a sacerdotal caste; that although there was a reaction against this state of things at the time of the Reformation, in various countries, it was not sufficient; and that the Church of England, at the present time, is suffering from the want of the lay element, and will never be right till it is restored.

It may be taken as an axiom in the moral and political, as well as in the physical world, that a body left to itself soon becomes corrupt. Just as the sea requires the salt as a conservative principle, and the continual flux and reflux of its waves to keep it in a proper state, so the Church requires the influence of the believing laity, 'the salt of the earth,' as well as the external pressure of the world, to preserve it from the stagnation and corruption which must otherwise follow.

The author does not, however, think that the laity are without blame in surrendering what he considers their rights. Apathy and indifference with regard to spiritual things are apt to creep over the best of men, and lead them to forget that true religion is a personal thing and cannot be performed by proxy, and that they have duties in the Christian Church as well as

the clergy. Man's depraved nature is continually tempting him to establish his own righteousness, and to go about endeavouring to climb to heaven by some other way than that appointed in the Scriptures. How pleasing, for instance, is it to the human mind to believe that if a man commit his salvation to the care of his priest or parson, as the case may be, it will be all right ; he will get rid of all responsibility, provided he only listen and obey. Still there must arise occasionally, in all serious and reflective minds, a consciousness that man is a responsible being, and that he must one day stand naked before his Maker, to answer for his ignorance, as well as for his credulity, and also for not having acted up to the light that was in him ; that there is truth in the doctrine that it is possible for a man to give all his goods to feed the poor, and even his body to be burned, and yet not have that love to God and love to his fellow men which will prove him to be an heir of the kingdom of heaven.¹

The sacerdotal theory is entirely opposed to the letter and spirit of the whole of New Testament Scripture. Some of the evils arising from it are these. First, it deprives the laity of the interest they would otherwise take in the spread of true religion. To be convinced of this we have only to look at any country

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

where the Roman Catholic religion prevails, and there we shall find that religion is generally considered to be the affair of priests, women, and a few weak-minded men.

Secondly, it deprives the laity of their usefulness. There are many things in the Church that laymen can do much better than clergymen, especially the management of temporal things, regarding which clergymen should have little or nothing to do, and the concern about which their minds should be above all suspicion.

Thirdly, the sacerdotal theory takes away a layman's responsibility, by placing him completely in subjection to his priest, as his spiritual ruler. He is no longer a free being ; he is in spiritual bondage, and must content himself with listening and obeying. It therefore becomes a grave question whether this sacerdotal theory has not been the grand hindrance to the spread of vital Christianity, both at home and abroad. Certain it is that if every Christian layman felt his responsibility as he ought to do, and had the liberty to influence for good those around him, it would call into exercise those graces which God has given him ; and we should not see so much poverty, squalor and misery, so much ignorance, infidelity and atheism, as we see, in what we are wont to call, our highly-favoured land. The state of the poor—physical, mental, and moral—in this country, is a national disgrace,

and the sooner it can be changed the better. Politics cannot do it, education cannot do it, religion of itself cannot do it. It will require the whole three combined, but the basis must be religion.

If the author, by what he has written, can induce any other layman to take up this question and study it for himself, he will consider that his labour has not been in vain.

FAIRLAWN, BECKENHAM.

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CHRISTIAN SACERDOTALISM.

NO ONE who is at all conversant with the writings of the Ritualists of the present day will for a moment doubt that Sacerdotalism is the beginning, the middle, and the end of Ritualism ; indeed, Dr. Pusey himself tells us that ‘upon the principle of Sacerdotalism hangs the future of England’s Church!’ We believe this is correct, and we are quite willing to admit that on the truth or the falsehood of this principle hangs not only the ‘future of England’s Church,’ but the future of Protestantism in England and all over the world. If the Reformation was really a mistake, as some would have us believe, or was ‘like a limb badly set,’ as others have expressed it, there is nothing left for us but to confess the mistake, go back to pre-Reformation times, and hand ourselves over, body and soul, to a designing priesthood, who will treat us after their own fashion, and enjoin us to perform their behests. But there is another sense in which ‘the limb may have been badly set,’ and that is, the Reformation may not have gone far enough,¹ and that we

¹ See Macaulay’s *History of England* (Longmans & Co., 1849), vol. i. pp. 50, 51.

are now on the eve of fighting the battle over again. A learned prelate has compared this breaking loose from Romish corruptions to a horse carrying off a piece of the halter with him, by which the Ritualists wish to lead him back, not to his old stable, but to one of their own, very much like it, in which he is to be hoodwinked, and grind in their mill.¹

Before examining into the Sacerdotal theory, to see whether there is any foundation for it in the New Testament scriptures, let us take a glance at the state of the world when our Saviour appeared.

At this epoch the world was divided into two classes, Jews and Gentiles. The Jewish people were in a most corrupted state. The two principal sects were the Pharisees and Sadducees, whose religion consisted in a round of vain and empty ceremonies. The former might be called the Ritualists, and the latter the Rationalists of their day. There was another sect, not mentioned in Sacred Scripture—viz. the Essenes, who were the monks of that time. They withdrew themselves from the world, and, by a mystic asceticism, maintained that religion consisted wholly in a silent contemplation of divine things;² so that we have here formalism, scepticism, and mysticism—the three dangerous tendencies of the human mind in departing from the truth. When John the Baptist saw the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, he thus addressed them, “O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?”³

¹ Archbishop Whately's *Life* (Longmans & Co.), vol. i. p. 490.

² See Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* lib. ii. c. viii. §§ 2-14.

³ Matt. iii. 7.

If we would know what our Saviour thought of them, we must read the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, where He cautions his disciples to beware of their inconsistency of preaching, but not practising. He points out their tyranny and oppression, especially over those who required their protection, "devouring widows' houses, and for a pretence making long prayers;" their fondness of doing things merely to be seen of men; their coveting the best places at the feasts, and the first seats in the synagogues; their delight in being called Rabbi, Father, and Master. Among other sins, He charges them with shutting the kingdom of Heaven against men, and not going in themselves. Filled with a holy indignation, He pronounced many a woe against them: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides! which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Ye serpents! ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"

The Jewish historian, Josephus, referring to the same period, says that 'it was most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could anyone so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so

deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another, in their single capacity and in their communities, who could run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours; the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power.’¹ Again, in describing the siege of Jerusalem, he says, ‘I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains (his countrymen), the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by, for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishment; for by their madness it was that the people came to be destroyed.’² We would guard ourselves against being understood to say that all the Jews were equally wicked at this time; no doubt there were some who, like Simeon and Anna, were looking by faith and waiting for the promised Messiah, and, having seen the Lord’s Christ, were ready to join in the words of the aged saint, “Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.”³ There were others who were striving faithfully to keep the law, like St. Paul, who tells us that, as to the righteousness which is in the law, he was blameless;⁴ and who, notwithstanding all their prejudice

¹ *Bell. Jud.* lib. vii. c. viii. § 1.

² *Ibid.* lib. v. c. xiii. §. 6.

³ Luke ii. 20.

⁴ Phil. iii. 6.

and opposition, being honest, were better prepared to embrace the doctrines of our Saviour. It is no less true, however, that the Jews, as a body, were in a sad condition. The *Sadducees*, who were the most wealthy, were men of a rationalistic tendency. They did not believe in a future state, but, like the Epicurean philosophers among the Greeks, acted on the principle of the proverb, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." They thought that the good of life was to enjoy it as long as it lasted. The *Pharisees*, the great mass of the people, were imbued with a self-righteous and proud spirit, and boasted of having Abraham for their father. They acted from another and very different principle, and, thinking themselves so much better than their fellows, were ready to say, 'Stand by, for I am holier than thou.' They clung rigidly to the traditions of the elders, and thus made void the law of Moses. Indeed, the very best of the Jews were tinged with a worldly spirit, and expected in the Messiah to find an earthly deliverer. This we learn from a question put to our Saviour by some of his disciples after his resurrection, "Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?"¹

The Gentile or Pagan world was even worse than the Jews, though in one respect they were less to be blamed, because unto them were not committed the oracles of God, as unto the Jews. The Apostle Paul, however, tells us, the law of God was written on their hearts, but they did not like to retain God in their

¹ Acts i. 6; Luke xxiv. 21.

knowledge.¹ Notwithstanding the high cultivation of science and art amongst the Greeks, and the wise polity and respect for religion among the Romans, all this did not lead them to the true God, for the "world by wisdom knew not God."² Even Polybius and Strabo were obliged to confess that 'the multitude of women, and the entire mass of the common people, cannot be led to piety by the doctrines of philosophy; for this purpose superstition also is necessary, which must call in the aid of myths and tales of wonder.'³ The people were sunk in all kinds of idolatry and lust, and for every new want and fear were obliged to invent a new god after their own imagination. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, gives us a description of the heathen world. "Professing themselves to be wise," he says, "they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible men, and to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things."⁴

When we consider the condition of both Jews and Gentiles, it was not to be expected that the doctrines our Saviour preached would be received without opposition. On the contrary, it was against these two

¹ Rom. i. 28; ii. 15.

² 1 Cor. i. 21.

³ Strabo, *Geograph.* lib. i. c. ii., quoted by Neander in his *Church History* (Edinb. 1847), vol. i. p. 9. Upon this heathen principle the Romish Church seems to act in teaching the people to believe in miracles, winking images, and endless fables about saints; and the Ritualists follow their example.

⁴ Rom. i. 22, 23. See the whole of this passage to the end of the chapter. We may learn also the corrupt state of the heathen at this time from Terence and Juvenal. See also Gieseler's *Ecclesiastical History* (Edin. 1846), vol. i. p. 21, &c.

enemies, Judaism and Paganism, He and his disciples had chiefly to contend—the former holding fast by the customs of the law and the traditions of the elders; the latter, that vain philosophic spirit, the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness in the sight of God. We thus find our Saviour cautioning his disciples to beware of false prophets, who would come to them in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they were ravening wolves.¹ St. Paul charges Titus not to give heed to Jewish fables.² At Thessalonica he reasoned with the Jews in their synagogue for three Sabbath days,³ and at Athens daily with the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers, who spent their time entirely in discussing every new doctrine.⁴ In his Epistle to the Colossians, he charges them to take care lest they should be spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.⁵ St. John, in his epistles, enjoined his disciples to try the spirits, whether they were of God, because many false prophets were gone out into the world, and that many antichrists existed in his time.⁶ Indeed, so great was the opposition our Saviour and his disciples met with in preaching the Gospel, that their lives were continually in danger. The only comfort He had to give them, so far as related to this world, was contained in the expression, "If they have persecuted me they will also persecute you," and that they were to be hated by all men for his name's sake.⁷ The only reason given us that He

¹ Matt. vii. 15. ² Tit. i. 14. ³ Acts xvii. 1-3. ⁴ *Ibid.* xvii. 16-21.

⁵ Coloss. ii. 8.

⁶ 1 John iv. 1; ii. 18, &c.

⁷ Matt. x. 22.

was spared from being cut off much sooner was, that his hour was not yet come.¹

We shall see, as we advance, that these two sources of opposition not only existed in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles, but that from them sprung the corruptions of the Church when they disappeared. Both St. Paul and St. Peter testified of what was to take place. The former, when taking leave of the elders of Ephesus at Miletus, says, "I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them."² Again, in his First Epistle to Timothy, he tells us that the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some should depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils.³ St. Peter, very shortly before his death, writes, that false teachers should arise, who privily should bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.⁴ With such distinct intimation as the above, should we be surprised if false teachers did arise, if false doctrines were taught, and that even from among the bishops or elders men appeared speaking perverse things? Is it too much to include the hierarchical spirit which soon after manifested itself, by its unlawful assumptions, as a part of those prophecies that were to be fulfilled? On the contrary, we are convinced that this spirit is more or less connected with almost all the errors which have crept into the Church.

¹ John viii. 20.

² Acts xx. 29, 30.

³ 1 Tim. iv. 1.

⁴ 2 Peter i. 14; ii. 1.

Sacerdotalism (from *sacerdos*) implies a sacrificing priest, a sacrifice, and an altar. The Ritualists claim not only all these, but a great deal more, as we shall see. In the 'Tracts for the Day,' edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley (Longmans & Co., 1867), Tract I. p. 25, we read, 'The Christian Priesthood sums up the offices, which under the Old Covenant were distributed. The Priest was the sacrificing, the Prophet the preaching, and the Judge the ruling officer. The Catholic at the altar offers the adorable sacrifice, of which the bloody holocausts of the law were but shadows; in the pulpit he declares the oracles of God; and in the confessional he sits in his judicial capacity.' The reader will notice that all the three things are here asserted, and, moreover, the power of forgiving sins. Again, in the examination of the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett before the Ritual Commissioners, the following questions are asked (No. 2608, p. 72, Report 1867):—Do you consider yourself a sacrificing priest?—Yes. (2609.) In fact, *sacerdos*, a sacrificing priest?—Distinctly so.

2610. What authority have you in the Prayer Book for that?—That, again, would involve a long answer. It has been so interpreted by our divines, the divines of our Church from the time of the Reformation.¹

2611. Then you think you offer a propitiatory sacrifice?—Yes; I think I do offer a propitiatory sacrifice.

Dr. Littledale, in his treatise on the 'Christian Priesthood,' p. 1 (London: Palmer, 1867), says, 'The difference between the Jewish and the Christian Priest-

¹ For the disproof of this, we refer the reader to Garbett's *Voices of the Church of England* (London: Hunt & Co. 1869), p. 80, et seq.

hood is threefold : (a) The unbloody sacrifice of the Eucharist is substituted for the slaughter of oxen, sheep, goats, and birds ; (b) The Priesthood is transmitted not to one tribe alone by female descent, but to men of every race and country by successive commission from those sent by Christ Himself ; (c) The Jewish Priest could offer in the temple of Jerusalem alone ; the Christian Priest in any place set apart for holy use. In all other respects the two orders are closely alike.'

The late Bishop of Salisbury, in his ' Charge ' of 1867 (Rivington), p. 47, when treating of the Lord's Supper, says, ' I speak of that sacrament as a sacrifice. When we use this word with regard to our blessed Lord, we are using a word with which everyone who knows the Old Testament is very familiar.' Again (in p. 51), ' That sacrificial action (consecration of the elements), which is the counterpart of Christ's perpetual pleading and presentation of his Body and Blood in our behalf, is consummated when the bread and wine are made the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood.' Again (p. 75), ' Our Church witnesses that through consecration the Body and Blood of Christ become really present, and by this I mean " present *without us*," and not *only* " in the soul of the faithful receiver ; " or, to use words very familiar to you, my reverend brethren, the Body and Blood of Christ are present *objective* and not *subjective*.'¹ Again (p. 57), ' I also maintain that the Apostles, and they who have come after them through their appointment, have power entrusted to them to

¹ The italics are the Bishop's.

make sinners partakers of the mercies of God in Christ, and that they use this power in ministering the word of God, and the two sacraments, and by loosing them in the Ordinance of Absolution from the bonds by which they have been held.' In addition to the objective presence of the Body and Blood of Christ as here inculcated, we have others of the ritualistic party who would have us believe that the Church is confined to the clergy. In the 'Church and the World,' edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley (Longmans, 1867), Ser. I. p. 238, we read, 'Our Church is, after all, the English body of Bishops and Priests, providing those who live in England with the grace of the sacraments.' Another party would exclude all the laity from having anything to do with deciding any point of doctrine of the Church.¹ We might go on to show, by quoting from other sources, that Christ is to be adored under the form of bread and wine,² and that prayers should be offered for the dead, &c.; but the above will suffice to show the principal tenets held by the Sacerdotal party in the Church.

Let us now examine whether there is any authority for these doctrines in the New Testament, or whether they are not rather the arrogant assumptions of designing men.

The word *priest* is generally considered to be derived

¹ See 'Report of Meeting of the English Church Union' (*Monthly Circular*, June 1868, p. 200).

² See Bennett's *Plea for Toleration* (London: Hayes, 1867 and 1868), first edit. p. 3, and third edit. pp. 2 and 11; also Dr. Littledale's *Real Presence* (London: Palmer, 1867); and Stuart's *Mediation of the Church* (London: Palmer, 1865); *Tracts for the Day* (Longmans & Co., 1867), No. 3, p. 77, and No. 5, p. 62.

from *presbyter* (*πρεσβύτερος*, elder), which was contracted into *prester* (French *prestre* and *prêtre*), and then *priest*.¹ Now there can be no objection to the word *priest* so far as the origin is concerned; but when it is used in a sacerdotal or sacrificial sense for *ιερεὺς*, then it is different. In this latter sense it is not once to be found in our authorised English Translation of the New Testament, which clearly shows that both the word and the idea of sacrifice were rejected at the Reformation. The word *πρεσβύτερος* is always translated by elder. The word *priest*, however, was retained in the Prayer Book (a thing very much to be regretted), but only in the sense of *presbyter*, as one of the orders, above a deacon and below a bishop.

The word *ιερεὺς* (*sacerdos*), sacrificing priest, in the New Testament occurs only in the four following senses—viz. 1st, of the Jewish priests;² 2nd, of Pagan priests;³ 3rd, of our Saviour, the Great High Priest, prefigured by all the Jewish priests, who were to disappear as soon as He offered Himself a sacrifice for our sins;⁴ 4th, of Christ's universal Church, that is, of all true believers.⁵

¹ Probably the word *priest* comes from the German *priester*, which is the same in Dutch, by dropping the last syllable. In Low German it is *prester*; in Icelandic *prestr*; in Anglo-Saxon *preost*; in Danish *praest*; in Swedish *prest*; in Italian *prete*; in Spanish and Portuguese *presbítero*. Some derive it from the Greek *πρηστῆρ*, incendiarius, probably from his burning the victim; others from the Latin *præstes*, one who presides. See also Justin, *Apol.* i. cc. 66, 67, where the word *προεστὼς* is used in the same sense.

² *Passim*.

³ Acts xiv. 13.

⁴ Epistle to the Hebrews, *passim*.

⁵ Rev. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6. My attention has been called, since the above was written, to two books—viz. Professor Lightfoot's work on the Epistle

We have no evidence of the Apostles, bishops, presbyters, or deacons ever calling themselves, or being called, priests in this sense. But the Apostles did call themselves elders.¹ St. Paul applies the term minister (*διάκονος*) to himself, and glories in the appellation.² On a memorable occasion, when our Saviour saw an ambitious, it might be a hierarchical, spirit arising amongst the Apostles, He reproved it, and told them, whosoever wished to be great amongst them must be willing to become their minister (*διάκονος*), and whosoever wished to be their chief was to become their servant (*δοῦλος*), even as He Himself came not to be ministered unto, but to minister (*διακονῆσαι*), and to give his life a ransom for many.³ We hear of Paul and Barnabas ordaining elders in every church,⁴ and the former leaving Titus in Crete to ordain elders in every city;⁵ but we never hear of him or any other of the Apostles ordaining sacrificing priests. Surely, if such

to the Philippians, to which is appended a treatise on the Christian Ministry, and Mr. Greenwood's *Cathedra Petri*. Though not agreeing with them on all points, I shall cite them to support my arguments. Prof. Lightfoot says, 'For communicating instruction and for preserving public order, for conducting religious worship, and for dispensing social charities, it became necessary to appoint special officers. But the priestly functions and privileges of the Christian people are never regarded as transferred, or even delegated, to these officers. They are called stewards or messengers of God, servants or ministers in the Church, and the like, but the sacerdotal title is never once conferred upon them. The only priests under the Gospel, designated as such under the New Testament, are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood.' See also Hilary: 'In lege nascebantur sacerdotes ex genere Aaron Levitæ; nunc autem omnes ex genere sunt sacerdotali, dicente Petro Apostolo, Quia estis genus regale et sacerdotali.'—*Christian Ministry*, p. 183.

¹ 1 Peter v. 1; 2 John i.; 3 John i.

² Eph. iii. 7; Col. i. 23-25.

⁴ Acts xiv. 23.

³ Matt. xx. 26-28.

⁵ Titus i. 5.

had been the case, it is but reasonable to suppose we should have heard something of it, and some record would have been left to guide those who were to follow, especially when we consider the great care that was to be taken in the Jewish priesthood, and the minute description that was given of the dress they were to wear, and the manner in which the service was to be performed.¹ On the contrary, the whole spirit of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews shows that the Jewish priests typified Christ the Great High Priest, who at his death, when He offered Himself a sacrifice *once for all*² (ἰφάπαξ), was to do away with all other priesthoods, and that there was to be no more offering for sin. He hath for ever sat down at the right hand of God, and by one offering hath perfected them that are sanctified.³ The words *θυσία*, sacrifice, and *θυσιαστήριον*, altar (from *θύω*, to kill, sacrifice), are only used, in the New Testament, in a literal sense when applied to Jewish and heathen sacrifices, and also to Christ Himself, as may be seen in Heb. v. 1, vii. 27, viii. 3, ix. 26, x. 12; Acts xiv. 13, 18, &c.; and in a figurative sense when applied spiritually to the dedication of believers, in body, soul and spirit, to God's service. They are never once applied to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The only passage which may be said to give the Ritualists any excuse for their doctrine is the passage of Heb. xiii. 10: "We have an altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle;" but on examination

¹ Exodus xxviii.-xxxii.² Heb. x. 10.³ *Ibid.* x. 14.

of the passage, it will be evident the Apostle meant to condemn the ritualistic ceremonies of the Judaizing party, and that they who clung to the Jewish practices could not profit by Christ's atonement; just as he tells them in another place that Christ is of no effect to those who were circumcised and expected to be justified by keeping the law (Gal. v.). Moreover, in the very same chapter where this word *altar* occurs (verses 15 and 16), he speaks of the sacrifice of praise (*θυσίαν αἰνέσεως*) and of doing good and communicating, "for with such sacrifices (*θυσίαις*) God is well pleased." We conclude, therefore, there is no more sacrificing for sin;¹ no more priests in the sense of sacrificing priests, no more any altar.² To hold the contrary doctrine would imply that Christ's death was not a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.³ It would imply that Christ's perfect work requires to be supplemented by man's miserable doings. It would be derogatory to his dignity as the High Priest. It would rob Him of his glory, as the Great Mediator between God and man, for we are told there is but one Mediator, the Man Christ Jesus.⁴ Those who maintain they have supernatural powers and prerogatives entrusted to them, and have power to forgive sins, take the place of Christ, and are therefore antichrist.⁵ A separate spiritual

¹ Heb. x. 18.

² We shall see that these words were introduced into the writings of the Fathers.

³ 1 John ii. 2.

⁴ 1 Tim. ii. 5.

⁵ See Bishop of Salisbury's *Charge* for 1867, p. 57. The Jews were perfectly consistent when, hearing our Saviour say (Matt. ix. 2, 3), "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee," they replied, "Why doth this man thus speak blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God?"

priesthood has no place in Christianity: Christ is the only High Priest.¹ The sacrifice required is that of praise; the altar on which it is to be offered, a throne of grace. The whole life of the Christian was to be a continual priesthood, a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God.² There is no temple in the Jewish sense, but Christ's body is called the temple, for in Him dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily.³ Again, the Christian's body is called the temple of God and of the Holy Ghost.⁴

In the early days of Christianity there was no such distinction as clergy and laity, spiritual and secular; but all were one body,⁵ endued more or less with the Holy Spirit, which was a necessary qualification to constitute true membership then, as it is now. "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his."⁶

The words *πρεσβύτερος* (presbyter, elder) and *ἐπίσκοπος* (bishop) were used synonymously, as we may see from different passages where both terms are interchangeable. In Acts, chap. xx., already referred to, and verse 17, we see St. Paul, when at Miletus, sent to Ephesus for the elders (*πρεσβυτέρους*) of the Church; and in verse 28 of the same chapter he

¹ Archbishop Whately's *Kingdom of Christ* (London: Fellowes, 1841), p. 96.

² 1 Peter ii. 9; Rom. xii. 1.

³ Col. ii. 9.

⁴ 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; vi. 19.

⁵ See Neander's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 246; Ephes. iv. 4.

⁶ Rom. viii. 9. 'The most exalted office in the Church, the highest gift of the Spirit, conveyed no sacerdotal right which was not enjoyed by the humblest member of the Christian community.'—Prof. Lightfoot's *Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 184.

calls them overseers (*ἐπισκόπους*) or bishops. If we compare verses 5 and 7 of chap. i. of St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, we shall see they mean the same persons. When St. Paul was sending his salutations to the church at Philippi, he first names the saints, and then adds "with the bishops and deacons."¹ Again, in writing to Timothy, the same apostle, in pointing out the qualifications necessary for a bishop, goes on to say, "Likewise must the deacons be grave," &c.² Now, why is it that the presbyters are not here mentioned? Simply because they were comprehended in the word bishops. The bishop was evidently not a separate order in the apostolic times, but only *primus inter pares*, probably standing in the same relation to the presbyter as the chief of the synagogue (*ἀρχισυνάγωγος*) to the elders.³ We have no authority for asserting how the bishops were chosen; perhaps they presided by rotation, seniority, or qualification—there is little doubt it was by common consent.⁴ The ruling power in early times was in the community; in the choosing of deacons we see it distinctly.⁵ St. Paul, when writing to the church at Corinth, charges them to maintain that discipline which was necessary for their existence as a church. He was addressing the

¹ Phil. i. 1.

² 1 Tim. iii. 1–8. See also Clement of Rome's *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, c. xlii., where the deacons are mentioned immediately after the bishops; and Neander's *Church History* (Edinb. 1847), vol. i. p. 251.

³ See Neander's *Planting of the Christian Church* (London, 1851), vol. i. p. 145.

⁴ It may have been the custom for the presbyters themselves, in case of a vacancy, to propose another and leave it to the community to decide.—Neander's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 258; Clement, c. xlv.

⁵ Acts vi. 3.

collective body of believers, and, indeed, his words were spoken to "all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ."¹ Clement of Rome gives this rule concerning the offices of the Church, 'That they should be filled according to the judgment of approved men, with the consent of the whole community.'² There is no evidence to show that the Christian teaching was confined to the elders, but in all probability the custom of the synagogue was adopted. Anyone who had a word of exhortation, was allowed to speak, with the consent of the ruler.³ We read that our Saviour continually frequented the synagogue. One memorable occasion must be familiar to all, when He went into it at Nazareth, where He had been brought up. There was delivered unto Him the book of the prophet Esaias, which after He had read, He told them the passage referred to his own coming.⁴ St. Paul and others profited by every opportunity of preaching the Gospel in every place where there was a synagogue.⁵

We have before stated that the whole life of a Christian was to be a continual sacrifice to God; so also was every believer to make the best use of those gifts (*χαρίσματα*) or graces which God had given him to extend his Redeemer's kingdom.⁶ He was to exercise them in a spirit of humility and love, and all were to be united together as members of the same body.⁷ Among the gifts mentioned in chapter xii. of St.

¹ 1 Cor. v. 3-5; vi. 5; i. 2.

² Clement, c. xlii., xliv.

³ Acts xiii. 15.

⁴ Luke iv. 16-21.

⁵ Acts xviii. 4, 26, &c.

⁶ Rom. xii. 6-8; 1 Cor. i. 7; vii. 7; xii. 4-30.

⁷ Rom. xii. 10; Ephes. iv. 4-6.

Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and chap. xii. of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, there were, no doubt, some that had the pre-eminence, such as governing and teaching. We have seen that the elders naturally borrowed their name and governing position from the synagogue, and that all were allowed to teach who had the power of communicating knowledge. As the churches increased, there is little doubt but those most qualified were set apart for this purpose. St. Paul, in writing to Timothy, requires that bishops be apt to teach and not novices.¹ We learn also that the gifts of teaching and governing were sometimes, but not always, united, and those who possessed both gifts were to be worthy of double honour.²

Deacons (*διάκονοι*), servants or ministers, were first appointed for the distribution of the alms, when the Grecians (Hellenists) complained against the Hebrews that their widows were neglected. We learn from the Apostles, when they appointed them, that the office of a deacon was in some respects inferior to that of preaching the Gospel.³ Nevertheless, St. Paul, as we have seen, applies this term to himself, and even calls our Saviour the deacon or minister of circumcision (*διάκονον περιτομῆς*).⁴

Some think the office of deacon existed, before the seven were chosen, in the terms of *νεώτεροι* and

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 2, 6.

² *Ibid.* v. 17.

³ Acts vi. 1-6. The expression is, "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables."

⁴ Rom. xv. 8. Chrysostom says that in these times the terms deacon and bishop were used indifferently the one for the other. *Expos. in Epist. ad Phil.* Hom. I. tom. xi. p. 194.

νεανίσκοι, young men, just as πρεσβύτεροι signifies old men.¹

In support of this theory, compare Luke xxii. 26, 27, with 1 Pet. v. 5 and Acts v. 6. Neander says, 'The duties of this office (diaconate) were from the beginning simply external.'² It is rather difficult to understand what he means by the term 'external.' Doubtless the distribution of the alms was their principal duty; but it was by no means confined to this, for we read that Stephen preached and performed miracles.³ Philip also preached, wrought miracles, and baptised; though it would appear he had not the power of giving the Holy Ghost.⁴ Yet, strange to say, the eighteenth canon of the Council of Constantinople in Trullo declares the seven deacons had no spiritual function assigned them. Ignatius, Cyprian, and Tertullian all testify to their being ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, or ministers of Jesus Christ. The same qualifications, or nearly so, were required for the office of deacon as for that of presbyter.⁵

Deaconesses were also appointed in apostolic times, as is evident from Rom. xvi. 1: 'I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, who is a deaconess (οὐσαν διάκονον), or servant, of the church which is at Cenchrea.' Their office seems to have been to advise the young women, to assist at their baptism, which was by immersion, and to devote themselves to spreading the Gospel in families

¹ See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 89; also note 7.

² *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i. p. 256.

³ Acts vi. 8-15.

⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 5-17.

⁵ Acts vi. 3-6; 1 Tim. iii. 8-13.

where men had no access, for in the East the sexes were carefully separated.¹

It should never be forgotten that, though our Saviour came to supersede and abolish Judaism as a system, He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.² He came to fulfil all that was written of Him in the law and the prophets. He came to fulfil the moral law by keeping all the commandments. He came to fulfil it by showing that it reached not only to actions and words, but to the inmost recesses of the heart.³ He expounded the law with such clearness, and applied it with such force, that his hearers were obliged to confess that "never man spake like this man."⁴ Sometimes they were so offended that they sought to put Him to death;⁵ at other times, as at Nazareth, they wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth.⁶ He created no unnecessary opposition in introducing his economy, but made the best of everything as He found it. He did neither strive nor cry, nor did any man hear his voice in the streets.⁷ He appeared like the sun, not in its meridian splendour coming out after an eclipse, but gradually rising and gilding the mountain tops after a long night of ignorance and superstition. Foretold by the prophets, and heralded

¹ See Titus ii. 2-5, where the word *πρεσβυρίδας* is supposed to be the deaconesses, and part of their duties is also enjoined. See also Neander's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 256; Clement of Alex. *Strom.* lib. iii. p. 448; and Tertullian, *De Virgin. Velandis*, c. ix.

² Matt. v. 17.

³ *Ibid.* v. 28.

⁴ John vii. 46.

⁵ Matt. xxvi. 4.

⁶ Luke iv. 22.

⁷ Isaiah xlii. 2; Matt. xii. 19.

in by John the Baptist, who was his morning star, He presented Himself as the Sun of Righteousness, that true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. By example and precept He scattered the clouds, the shadows, and darkness that were before Him. By a life of self-denial, suffering, and sorrow, which ended in his death on the Cross, He proved Himself to be the Lamb of God, who came to take away the sins of the world. He fulfilled the law in being circumcised the eighth day. He introduced his own kingdom by setting the example of being Himself baptised; for thus, said He, "it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness."¹ From among his disciples, as we have seen, He chose twelve, whom He called Apostles; a name already existing in the Jewish Church,² the number probably to represent the twelve tribes of Israel.³ As their duties increased when the number of believers were multiplied, He next sent forth seventy, who were to preach the Gospel, two and two.⁴ Of the two ordinances which He adopted, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the former already existed in the Jewish Church; the latter was shadowed forth by the Pass-

¹ Matt. iii. 15.

² The title Apostle was given to those principal men whom the high priests retained as their private counsellors; and whom they occasionally sent as their legates to the foreign Jews (see Gal. i. 1), so understood by Jerome (see his *Comment.* op. tom. ix. p. 124). After the destruction of Jerusalem, that the legates of the Jewish patriarchs, who stood in the place of the high priests, were called apostles is fully proved (see Jerome, as above, and Euseb. on *Isai.* c. xviii. v. 2, &c.; Mosheim, vol. i. p. 52, n. 9).

³ See Luke xxii. 30.

⁴ Some think the number seventy was to signify that the Sanhedrim, or council of seventy, was coming to a close.

over, which had a double meaning. It was to remind the Jews of their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, and to foreshadow the Lamb of God that was to take away the sins of the world. So the Lord's Supper was to be retrospective: it was to remind all true believers of the death of our Saviour, "Do this in remembrance of me;" and that by his death they were delivered from the dominion of sin, which was worse than Egyptian bondage. It was also to be prospective, like the Passover: they were to look forward to that kingdom to which our Saviour referred at its institution, when He said to his disciples, that He would not drink again of the fruit of the vine till He drank it new with them in his Father's kingdom. Here there is no mention made of any sacrifice, but, on the contrary, He calls the wine, not his blood, but the fruit of the vine, indicating thereby that it was merely a symbol of his blood.

One of the most convincing arguments to show that all sacrifice at Christ's death was to be done away may be drawn from the great contrast that existed between the worship of the synagogue and the service of the temple, and the adaptation of the Christian service to the former.¹ We are told that the law was our schoolmaster, to bring us unto Christ;² that is, the law was a preparatory state of infancy, to bring us to the manhood of Christianity. So also may we look on the introduction of the synagogical service as de-

¹ See Litton's *Bampton Lectures*, No 7 (Hatchard, 1856).

² Gal. iii. 24.

signed by God to prepare the way for the preaching of the Gospel, and to serve as a more or less perfect model for the worship that was to succeed it. The service of the synagogue was confined to prayers, reading the Scriptures and expounding them; whereas the temple service was of an entirely sacrificial character. The former did not require the office of a priest, though he was allowed to take part in the service when present, and he gave his blessing to the people before they separated. In his absence, this duty was performed by the Shaliach Zibbor, or angel of the church.¹ The synagogue was not ordained by Moses, and we have no authority for asserting exactly when it was established. It is generally believed that it did not exist till after the Babylonish captivity.² The temple worship was confined to Jerusalem, and we may easily conceive what a punishment it would be to the devout Jews to be banished from their native land. We hear of Daniel in Babylon, with the windows of his chamber being open towards Jerusalem, praying three times a day.³ In the book of Ezekiel we hear of the people going to their prophet to enquire the word of the Lord, expecting no doubt comfort and consolation at his hands.⁴ How bitterly they felt their position and degradation we may learn from the Psalmist, when they sat down by the waters of Babylon and wept, having hanged

¹ Prideaux, *Connection*, vol. i. p. 359, &c., and Litton's *Bampton Lectures*.

² 'Restat itaque ut synagogarum origo assignatur tempori quod Babylonica captivitate posterius est, quæ a doctissimis viris recepta est sententia.'—Vitringa, *De Synag.* lib. i. pt. ii. c. xii.; see also Prideaux, *Connect.* vol. i. p. 357.

³ Daniel vi. 10.

⁴ Ezek. xxxiii. 30-31; xiv. 1; xx. 1.

their harps upon the willows. When asked by their oppressors to sing one of the songs of Zion, they replied, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."¹ Those who returned to Jerusalem after the captivity listened devoutly and attentively to Ezra when he read the book of the law.² Many of them staid behind, and others were scattered over Asia Minor and Egypt, whither Ptolemy Soter had brought them. He treated them kindly, and put them on an equality with the Greeks of Alexandria. They soon learnt the native language of that city, which was Greek.³ It was about this time that the Septuagint translation was made, which was read in these synagogues. Judea for a long time was a subject of contention between the kings of Syria and Egypt, till at last it fell under the power of the Romans. Many of the Jews migrated further west, in search of commerce, into all the principal towns, and were thus dispersed amongst the nations. The rule amongst the Jews was, that wherever ten men were found at liberty to form a congregation, there a synagogue should be erected. Thus synagogues increased very much in number, till it is said that in our Saviour's time there were twelve in Tiberias of Galilee alone, and in Jerusalem as many as four hundred and eighty.⁴

¹ Psalm cxxxvii. 1-6.

² Nehemiah viii. 1-8.

³ They were called Hellenists or Greek Jews; see Acts vi. 1; also Prideaux, vol. ii. p. 43, note q.

⁴ Prideaux thinks this number hyperbolic. See his *Connection*, vol. i. p. 358, &c.; also Maimonides in *Tephillah*; and Megillah, c. i. § 3.

The Jews had a great regard for Jerusalem as their capital, and often repaired to it to celebrate their feasts. It was thus that God prepared the way for spreading abroad the Gospel. It is thus we can account for the wonderful assembly on the day of Pentecost at Jerusalem, where "there were devout men out of every nation under heaven."¹ It was thus the Apostles went forth to Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece and Rome, where they found their countrymen ready to receive them, and who allowed them to preach in their synagogues.

After the Apostolic Times.

We shall see, as time went on, the changes that took place in the Church—how the little plant grew into a great tree! Our Saviour Himself was at first the only preacher: He went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom;² and when He saw the multitudes scattered as sheep having no shepherd, He called unto Him his *twelve disciples*, and giving them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease, He sent them forth to preach that the kingdom of heaven was at hand.³ When the number of the disciples increased and the work multiplied, using the same expression as before, "the harvest truly is great but the labourers are few,"⁴ He appointed *seventy* also, whom He sent forth, two

¹ Acts ii. 5-11.

² *Ibid.* ix. 35, &c.

³ Matt. iv. 23.

⁴ Compare ix. 37 and Luke x. 2.

and two, with similar powers, though they are never called apostles, nor were they designated by any particular name. We have no authority to state when the *bishops*, *presbyters*, or *elders* were appointed. The transition, no doubt, was very gradual. It seems only natural that if an elder of the synagogue became a Christian, he might, after a certain time, become an elder of the Christian Church. The first mention made of *elders*, as applied to the Christian Church, is to be found in Acts xi. 29, 30, when a collection was made at Antioch for the poor brethren in Judea, which was sent to the *elders* by the hands of Barnabas and Saul. The first time we meet with the word *bishops* is in Acts xx. 28, where it is interchangeable with the word *elders* in the seventeenth verse of the same chapter.¹ We have no reason to believe that this order was appointed in the time of our Saviour, but in that of the Apostles, as we hear of Paul charging Titus to ordain *elders* in every city, and with the assistance of Barnabas he himself ordained elders in every church.² As the wants of the Church increased, further assistance would be required, and we hear of prophets and teachers, evangelists and pastors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and for the edifying of the body of

¹ We are inclined to think the word *ἐπίσκοπος* was merely a Greek term to signify the same as *πρεσβύτερος*, for in Athens the *ἐπίσκοποι* were magistrates sent out to tributary cities to organise and govern them. See Schol. in *Aristophan. Av.* 1023; Boeckh, *Staatshaush. der Ath.* i. pp. 168, 256; Robinson's *Greek Lexicon*. Lightfoot thinks the word *ἐπίσκοπος* was at first confined to the officers of the Gentile churches (see his *Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 191).

² Acts xiv. 23.

Christ.¹ If there were changes during the lifetime of the Apostles, we must not be surprised to meet with greater ones when they disappeared. We shall see the distinction between the clergy and laity was gradually introduced, and the power of the elders departing from them, which was concentrated in the bishop, to which he had no right, unless indeed it was necessary for good government. These changes finally ended in the establishment of a Sacerdotal caste.²

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

The early writers who are called the Apostolic Fathers are those who were converted to the Christian faith in the time of the Apostles, and probably by them. There are five who generally bear this name: Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Barnabas, and Hermas. Learned writers differ very much as to the order in which these men should be placed. Neander places Barnabas first, then Clement, next Hermas, Ignatius and Polycarp. No doubt we hear of Barnabas before Clement, for he is mentioned in the Acts³ as having been in the faith even before Paul; whereas Clement is only cursorily mentioned in Phil. iv. 3. It is probable the reason why Clement is often placed first is because his epistle is more esteemed than that of Barnabas. Archbishop Wake has translated the Apostolic Fathers, and we shall follow the order in which he has placed

¹ Ephes. iv. 11, 12.

² Neander's *Church History* (Clark: Edinb. 1847), vol. i. p. 263.

³ See Acts iv. 36.

them. Three out of the five Fathers have been translated by Temple Chevalier, B.D., who seems to think that the epistles ascribed to Barnabas and the 'Shepherd of Hermas' existed in the second century, but probably were written after the apostolic age.¹ There is this difference also, in their publication, that Archbishop Wake gives the quotations from the Scriptures in the words of the authorised English Version, whereas Chevalier gives a more literal translation of the quotations, some of which are from the Septuagint, or some other version, and sometimes the general meaning of the passages referred to is only given. He bears testimony to the faithfulness and scriptural character of the Archbishop's translation; we shall therefore make our quotations from it. Lardner, also, in his 'Credibility of the Gospel History,' has often done the same. The Greek and Latin text, when quoted, is generally taken from Migne's 'Patrologiæ Cursus Completus,' Paris, 1857, and compared with other editions, such as Cotlerius, Hefele, Potter, Cureton, &c. We shall find a wonderful difference between the writings of the Apostles and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. It is indeed difficult to account for this sudden change, if these epistles were really written by those who lived with the Apostles, even when we consider that there was no longer the same inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The difficulty is much less to those who believe that these writings were composed

¹ See Chevalier's *Translation of the Epistles of Clement of Rome, &c.*, Introd. p. 9, n. 1.

at a later date, and were palmed off as the compositions of those early Christians to make them more acceptable to the reader. 'The writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers (says Neander) have unhappily, for the most part, come down to us in a condition very little worthy of confidence, partly because, under the name of these men, so highly venerated in the Church, writings were early forged for the purpose of giving authority to particular opinions or principles; and partly because their own writings, which were extant, became interpolated, in subservience to a Jewish hierarchical interest, which aimed to crush the free spirit of the Gospel.'¹ We purpose examining the writings of the primitive Fathers, and as the canon of Scripture has been put to a crucial test and is now established, so we shall test them by this "sure word of prophecy." We shall quote some of the most scriptural and apostolic parts, and especially those which are opposed to the false doctrines and errors that afterwards sprang up. But as our particular object is to trace the hierarchical and sacerdotal spirit that soon manifested itself, we shall endeavour above all to notice those passages that seem to have this tendency.

The First Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians.

This Epistle is generally ascribed by the early Fathers to the Clement spoken of by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians, in conjunction with other fellow-

¹ Neander's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 438.

labourers "whose names," he says, "are written in the Book of Life."¹ Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome and Photius,² all testify to its being an excellent and admirable epistle. It was read publicly in the church of Corinth and other churches : some even went so far as to place it amongst the sacred writings. Modern scholars generally allow this epistle to have been written by Clement,³ but differ very much as to the time when. Some think it was written as early as between 64 and 70 A.D. (see Archbishop Wake's 'Discourse on the Apostolic Fathers,' p. 12). Bunsen puts it between 78 and 86, and he thinks it was written anterior to the fourth Gospel.⁴

Dr. N. Lardner⁵ says, 'On the whole, I think this epistle was written by Clement, when bishop, at the end of Domitian's persecution, in the year 96' (Lardner's 'Credibility,' &c. vol. ii. p. 34). For many centuries this epistle was considered to be lost. It was at last, however, discovered by Mr. Young, keeper of the King's Library, at the end of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and the New Testament, commonly called the Alexandrian Manuscript, Codex A. This manuscript was presented, in 1628, by Cyril,

¹ Phil. iv. 3. Scarcely anything is known for certain about Clement, though much has been written. It is generally admitted that he was bishop of Rome.

² Iren. *Hæres.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. xvi.; also c. xii.; *Canon. Apostol. Can. Ut.*; Jerome, *De Viris Illust.* c. xv.; Photius, *Bibloth. Cod.* 123.

³ Gieseler's *Eccles. History* (Clark: Edinburgh, 1846), vol. i. p. 111, n. 2.

⁴ Bunsen's *Christianity* (London, 1854), vol. i. p. 44.

⁵ Dr. Lardner has devoted a good deal of attention to this epistle (see *History of Clement*, vol. ii. p. 29, of his *Credibility*, &c.).

Patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople, to our King Charles I. Mr. Young published the epistle with a Latin translation at Oxford in 1633. The original manuscript is now in the British Museum. There is a part of this epistle still wanting at the end of chapter lvii., which accounts for the absence of one or two quotations¹ by the Fathers; sometimes also words and syllables are missed out. We learn from the heading of the epistle that it was addressed from the church that was in Rome to the church at Corinth. Its object was to quiet dissensions that had arisen in that church. Whether it was a contest between the community and the bishop, or elder, we cannot tell; but we see clearly that strifes about the ministry had already arisen: the author of the epistle blames them for having deposed at least one of their ministers without proper grounds. He recommends harmony and love, with the practice of every Christian virtue.

In the two first chapters, Clement, after apologising for the delay, caused by calamities that had befallen themselves, from turning his attention to those points about which the church at Corinth had consulted them, and especially the sedition that had arisen amongst them, commends the Corinthians for their faith, humility, and good works. He next deplores the sad condition (chap. iii.) into which sedition, arising from envy and emulation, had brought them. By quotations from the old Testament, he shows (chap. iv.) how many evils arose from the same sources. In referring to St. Peter

¹ Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. xxix.

and St. Paul, he shows that envy and jealousy were the cause of their sufferings, and finally of their death (chap. v.);¹ that many other men and women have suffered and died from the same cause; that great cities and mighty nations have thus been rooted up (chap. vi.).² Chapters vii. and viii. contain an exhortation to the Corinthians to repent, in which are the following beautiful words:—‘Wherefore let us lay aside all vain and empty cares; and let us come up to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling. Let us consider what is good and acceptable, and well pleasing in the sight of Him that made us. Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious his blood is in the sight of God; which being shed for our salvation, has obtained the grace of repentance for all the world. Let us search into all the ages that have gone before us; and let us learn that our Lord has in every one of them still given place for repentance to all such as would return to Him.’ After referring to Noah and Jonah, who preached repentance, he quotes largely from

¹ In speaking of St. Paul, Clement uses the expression, ‘And (for that end) travelled even to the utmost bounds of the West:’ *Καὶ (ἐν) τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ὀδῆως ἐλθὼν*, ‘et ad Occidentis terminos venisset.’ By which some think Italy, others Spain, others Britain. See Migne’s *Patrol.* pp. 219, 220, n. 38.

² In this chapter there is a phrase in the Greek and Latin text omitted by Archbishop Wake: *Διὰ ζῆλον διωχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες Δαναίδες καὶ Δίρκαι*, ‘propter emulationem vexatæ mulieres Danaïdes et Dirceæ:’ ‘through envy these women, the Danaïdes and Dirceæ, being persecuted,’ &c. Migne’s *Patrol.* p. 220, has this note (43): ‘Viris criticis crucem fixit hic locus; alii ex Clem. Alex. *Στρομ.* lib. iv. c. xix. interpolatum censent; alii prorsus expungunt; alii aliter legunt,’ &c. &c. There seems to be little doubt but that it is an interpolation, whilst some would make Danaïdes and Dirceæ the names of two distinguished females. See *Apostolic Fathers* (Edinburgh, 1867), vol. i. p. 11, n. 7.

Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and finishes with that beautiful passage : “ Wash ye, make you clean ; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes ; cease to do evil, learn to do well ; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord : though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow ; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land ; but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.”¹ He sets before them Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Lot, and Rahab, as examples of faith and good works (ix.–xii.), and exhorts that they should imitate these saints in all humility, godliness, and long-suffering, especially remembering the words of our Saviour : “ Be ye merciful, and ye shall obtain mercy ; forgive, and ye shall be forgiven,” &c.² (xiii.–xv.). Chapter xvi. consists principally of Isaiah liii. quoted in full, preceded by the following passage, which is entirely opposed to a hierarchical spirit :—‘ For Christ is theirs who are humble, and not who exalt themselves over his flock. The sceptre of the majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the show of pride and arrogance, though He could have done so ; but with humility, as the Holy Ghost had before spoken concerning Him.’³ He then refers to the

¹ Isaiah i. 16–20.

² Luke vi. 36.

³ We consider the above passage particularly valuable, as so opposed to the spirit which soon arose amongst the ministers ; and we think we are justified in concluding that the bishop, or elder, at Corinth required the advice.

examples of Elijah, Elisha, Ezekiel, and David, quoting the greater part of Psalm li. (xvii. and xviii.). From chap. xix. to chap. xxii. he exhorts to obedience, showing that the whole universe is under God's controlling power, that every thing fulfils its end in peace and concord ; and enforcing compliance with his advice by quotations from Scripture. We quote chapter xx. as being very beautiful :—‘The heavens, moving by his appointment, are subject to Him in peace. Day and night accomplish the courses that He has allotted unto them, not disturbing one another. The sun and moon, and all the several companies and constellations of the stars, run the courses that He has appointed to them in concord, without departing in the least from them. The fruitful earth yields its food plentifully in due season both to man and beast, and to all animals that are upon it, according to his will ; not disputing, nor altering any thing of what was ordered by Him. So also the unfathomable and unsearchable floods of the deep are kept in by his command ; and the conflux of the vast sea, being brought together by his order into its several collections, passes not the bounds that He has set to it ; but as He appointed it, so it remains. For He said, “Hitherto shalt thou come, and thy floods shall be broken within thee.”¹ The ocean, unpassable to mankind, and the worlds that are beyond it, are governed by the same commands of their great Master ; spring and summer, autumn and winter, give place peaceably to each other. The several quarters of the winds fulfil their work in their seasons. The ever-flowing fountains,

¹ Job xxxviii.

made both for pleasure and health, never fail to reach out their breasts to support the life of men. Even the smallest creatures live together in peace and concord with each other. All these has the great Creator and Lord of all commanded to observe peace and concord, being good to all ; but especially to us who flee to his mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.' ¹ The next chap. (xxiii.) shows that, though God is merciful and willing to receive all who come to Him in simplicity, still his will must be accomplished ; and just as the vine in a short time buds and flowers and brings forth fruit, so the Lord will quickly come again. In chap. xxiv. he confirms the resurrection by our Lord's example, and illustrates it by the succession of day and night, seed time and harvest. ²

Chap. xxv. We have hitherto found in this epistle a general agreement with Scripture—indeed, a great part of it is quotations from some of the most beautiful parts of Scripture ; but we are surprised at the credulity of the author, when, to prove the resurrection, he condescends to quote the fable of the phoenix. That the reader may be able to judge for himself, we give it verbatim :—

‘Let us consider that wonderful type of the resurrection, which is seen in the Eastern countries ; that is to say, in Arabia. There is a certain bird called a phoenix. Of this there is never but one at a time,

¹ In chap. xxi. we have the expression, ‘Our wives let us direct to do that which is good.’ From which we may learn Clement was married.

² These are favourite similes, and have been adopted by Justin Martyr (see his *Apol.* c. xxv.) and by Bishop Pearson (see Art. 11, p. 376).

and that lives five hundred years. And when the time of its dissolution draws near that it must die, it makes itself a nest of frankincense, and myrrh, and other spices, into which, when its time is fulfilled, it enters and dies. But its flesh, putrefying, breeds a certain worm, which, being nourished with the juice of the dead bird, brings forth feathers; and when it is grown to a perfect state, it takes up the nest in which the bones of its parent lie, and carries it from Arabia into Egypt, to a city called Heliopolis; and flying in open day, in the sight of all men, lays it upon the altar of the Sun, and so returns from whence it came. The priests then search into the records of the time, and find that it returned precisely at the end of five hundred years.' Chap. xxvi. : 'And shall we then think it to be any very great and strange thing for the Lord of all to raise up those that religiously serve Him in the assurance of a good faith, when even by a bird He shows us the greatness of his power to fulfil his promise? For He says in a certain place, "Thou shalt raise me up, and I shall confess unto thee." And again, "I laid me down and slept and awaked, because thou art with me."¹ And again, Job says, "Thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine that has suffered all these things."² We have the greatest difficulty in believing that this was written by a disciple of St. Paul, and must conclude that it is an interpolation. Woe be to the doctrine of the resurrection if it is to depend upon being proved by analogy from such fables!³ From chap. xxvii. to

¹ Psalm iii. 5.

² Job xix. 26.

³ Migne, in his *Patrol.*, has the following note (79), vol. i. p. 261 : 'Non

chap. xxxi. he shows God's faithfulness in fulfilling his promises, inculcates obedience, purity, moderation, and meekness, from all which we may expect blessedness. We would notice a passage in chap. xxix., quoted from Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, showing that God's people, and not the priests, even in Jewish times, were his inheritance: 'His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of his inheritance;' Ἐγενήθη μέρῃς Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ. In chap. xxxii. we have a passage maintaining the important doctrine of *Justification by faith*. In speaking, in the preceding chapter, of Abraham being justified by faith, he goes on to speak of the seed of Jacob: 'They were all therefore greatly glorified, not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness that they themselves wrought, but through his will. And we also, being called by the same will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, or the works which we have done in the holiness of our hearts; but by that faith by which God Almighty has justified all men from the be-

fertur alia fabula, in cujus enarratione consentiant magis, magisque dissentiant scriptores. Consentiant fere omnes in re, dissentiant de modo,' &c. (*Cotelerius*). Bunsen (in what Dr. Wordsworth calls his oracular manner) says, 'Mosheim and Neander think some passages in this epistle interpolated, because, from their mythical tendency, they are unworthy of a disciple of the Apostles. This is begging the question, and mere fancy.' We leave the reader to judge which opinion is the more correct. The passage of Mosheim to which Bunsen refers is probably the following: 'Yet even this (epistle, viz. the 1st) bears marks of alterations by some ill-judging person, who could not bear that so great a man should have written with so little erudition and ability.'—*Eccles. History* (London, 1845), vol. i. p. 96.

ginning; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.' Chaps. xxxiii. and xxxiv. exhort to perseverance in well-doing, and living in unity and concord with one another. As a specimen of the beautiful simplicity of this epistle, we quote from both these chapters: 'What shall we do, therefore, brethren? Shall we be slothful in well-doing, and lay aside our charity? God forbid that any such thing should be done by us. But rather let us hasten, with all earnestness and readiness of mind, to perfect every good work. For even the Creator and Lord of all things Himself rejoices in his own works. By his almighty power He fixed the heavens, and by his incomprehensible wisdom He adorned them. He also divided the earth from the water, with which it is encompassed, and fixed it as a secure tower, upon the foundation of his own will.' He then goes on to speak of the creation of the lower animals, and man, in which God was glorified. In the next chapter he adds: 'The good workman with confidence receives the bread of his labour; but the sluggish and lazy cannot look Him in the face that set him on work. We must therefore be ready and forward in well-doing; for from Him are all things. And thus he foretells us, "Behold the Lord cometh, and his reward is with him, even before his face, to render to everyone according to his work."'¹ He warns us therefore beforehand with all his heart, to this end, that we should not be slothful and negligent in well-doing. Let our boasting, therefore, and our

¹ Isaiah xl. 10; lxii. 11.

confidence be in God ; let us submit ourselves to his will. Let us consider the whole multitude of his angels, how ready they stand to minister unto his will, as saith the Scripture, "Thousands of thousands stood before him, and ten thousand times ten thousand ministered unto him."¹ And they cried, saying, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of his glory."² Wherefore let us also, being conscientiously gathered together in concord with one another, as it were, with one mouth, cry earnestly unto Him, that He would make us partakers of his great and glorious promises. For He saith, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for them that wait for him."³ In chapter xxxv. Clement dwells on the greatness of God's promises: 'How blessed and wonderful, brethren, are the gifts of God ! Life in immortality ! brightness in righteousness ! truth in full assurance ! faith in confidence ! temperance in holiness ! and all this has God subjected to our understanding : what therefore shall those things be which He has prepared for them that wait for Him ?'

After pointing out how we are to obtain those promises, by faith towards God, and doing that which is pleasing in his sight, in chapter xxxvi. he says: 'This is the way, beloved, in which we may find our Saviour, even Jesus Christ, the High Priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness. By Him we look up to the highest heavens ; and

¹ Dan. vii. 10.² Isaiah vi. 3.³ Isai. lxiv. 4 ; 1 Cor. ii. 9.

behold, as in a glass, his spotless and most excellent visage. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened; by Him our foolish and darkened understanding rejoiceth to behold his wonderful light.' From chaps. xxxvii. to xxxix. he shows that we are all dependant one upon another, and that, as we cannot be all commanders, we should be willing, as soldiers, to perform our part in the Christian warfare; that, as members of one body of which Christ is the head, we should be ready to unite in fighting under Him as the Captain of our salvation.¹

Chapter xl. We now come to the first appearance of what may be called the hierarchical and sacerdotal spirit, which we shall see gradually increased, from the time of the Apostles, till it ended in papal arrogance and tyranny. We give the whole of the two next chapters, that the reader may be able to form his own opinion. Chapter xl.: 'Seeing then these things are manifest unto us, it will behove us to take care that, looking into the depths of the Divine knowledge, we do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do. And, particularly, that we perform our offerings and service to God at their appointed seasons; for these He has commanded to be done, not rashly and disorderly, but at certain determinate times and hours. And therefore He has ordained, by his supreme will and authority, both where, and by what persons, they are to be performed, that so, all things being piously done, unto all well pleasing, they may be acceptable unto Him. They, therefore, who make

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 12, &c.

their offerings at the appointed seasons, are happy and accepted, because that, obeying the commandments of the Lord, they are free from sin. And the same care must be had of the persons that minister unto Him. For the chief priest has his proper services ; and to the priests their proper place is appointed ; and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries ; and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen.'

Chapter xli. : 'Let every one of you therefore, brethren, bless God in his proper station, with a good conscience, and with all gravity, not exceeding the rule of his service that is appointed to him. The daily sacrifices are not offered everywhere, nor the peace-offerings, nor the sacrifices appointed for sins and transgressions, but only at Jerusalem : nor in any place there, but only at the altar before the temple ; that which is offered being first diligently examined by the high priest and the other ministers we before mentioned. They therefore who do anything which is not agreeable to his will are punished with death. Consider, brethren, that by how much the better knowledge God has vouchsafed unto us, by so much the greater danger are we exposed to.'

In examining these two chapters, we think it must be patent to every unbiassed mind—we mean those whose mind does not tend to sacerdotalism—that there is here a spirit of trying to graft Judaism on Christianity, a spirit of trying to confine the Christian worship to seasons, times, hours, places, and persons, entirely at variance with the liberty of Christianity as laid down

in Holy Scripture. There is here an attempt to transfer the copying of the synagogical service to the imitation of the temple service, with its limitations of priests, times, and places. There is no doubt that everything should be done decently and in order—for this we have the command of the Apostle;¹ but we should like to know where we are told ‘to perform our offerings and service to God at their appointed seasons.’²

The expression ‘at their appointed seasons’ (*κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους*) does not occur once in all the New Testament. The word *προσφορά* (offering) is always used in a Jewish sense except once in Rom. xv. 16, and then figuratively. We should like to know where God has commanded these offerings and service to be performed ‘at certain determinate times and hours.’³ Again, we read, ‘He has ordained, by his supreme will and authority, both where, and by what persons, they are to be performed.’ This is localising the Christian service of God, and entirely opposed to the spirit of our Saviour’s discourse with the woman of Samaria (see John iv. 19–23): “The woman saith

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

² We may here notice that the English translation does not quite correspond with either the Greek or Latin text in Migne, but with Cotelarius; the words *κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους* (at the appointed seasons) being pointed off into the preceding clause, which, however, makes very little difference. Probably we have here the germ of the Romanist dividing the day into canonical hours, and adopted by the Ritualists, such as *prime, tierce, sext, &c.*

³ In Migne’s *Patrol.* (p. 288, n. 73) there is a reference to Eccles. iii. 1: ‘To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the sun.’ Now, as a general principle, we quite agree with this; but this is a very different thing from what is here asserted, that God has in the New Testament economy settled these appointed seasons, times, and hours.

unto him, our fathers worshipped in this mountain (Gerizim); and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." Again, we read, 'They therefore who make their offerings at the appointed seasons are happy and accepted, because that, obeying the commandments of the Lord, they are free from sin.' So that no less than three times in this short chapter we have the appointed seasons or times referred to for performing our offerings and services. A passage is here introduced by Archbishop Wake which is not to be found in either the Greek or Latin text, nor yet in Chevalier's 'Translation,' or Clark's *Antenicene Library*. The passage, in italics, is as follows:—'And the same care must be had of the persons that minister unto Him.'¹ Then comes the passage, 'For the chief priest has his proper services; and to the priests their proper place is appointed; and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries; and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen.' Here we have the foundation for the changes that gradually followed. The clergy began to form themselves into a sacerdotal caste, the bishops to consider themselves in the place of the high priest, the elders in that of the priests, and the deacons in room of the

¹ The archbishop evidently was no low churchman, but contended for apostolic descent.

Levites; so that we have the whole system of the Jewish priesthood engrafted on Christianity.¹ We would particularly direct attention to the last part of this chapter; the words in Greek are ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται 'the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen.' We have before said that in apostolic times there were no such distinctions as laity and clergy, secular and religious. Here it is introduced for the first time. In vain do we look for the word λαϊκὸς in the New Testament; it is nowhere to be found.² Neither is the word κληρὸς (from which clergy is derived) as applied to God's ministers. The meanings of it are, a lot, part, inheritance, heritage (see Matt. xxvii. 35; John xix. 24; Acts i. 17, 25, 26;

¹ Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, vol. i. p. 161; and Neander's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 263.

² Chevalier has a note (7, p. 29) to show that there are no instances amongst the writings of the Hellenistic Jews in which the priests and Levites are called κληρὸς and κληρικοί, as distinguished from the rest of the people, λαϊκοί. The word λαϊκὸς is found as applied to bread in 1 Sam. xxi. 4, ἄρτοι λαϊκοί, 'common or unhallowed bread;' and in Ezek. xlviii. 15, where it is translated 'profane.' He further adds: 'Clement here uses the word λαϊκὸς in a manner which shows that the distinction between the clergy and the laity was familiar to him.' We think, on the contrary, that, having no scriptural authority for it, either Clement did not write this epistle or that this is an interpolation. See Neander's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 267.

Lightfoot traces the words *clergy* and *laity* to the same origin as we have done, but comes to a very different conclusion. He says there was no sacerdotal idea implied in the word *clerus*. Surely there was a hierarchical idea in it; and he must also admit that the sacerdotal idea very soon followed. In fact, in the preceding page (244) he says, 'Towards the close of the second century we discern the first germs (of sacerdotalism) appearing above the surface; yet shortly after the middle of the third, the plant has all but obtained its full growth' (p. 245, n. 5). He next shows (p. 248, n. 1) that the Levitical priesthood were never called *clerus*; but therefore, *à fortiori* Christian ministers had no right to assume it.

Col. i. 12 ; 1 Peter v. 3). When used for inheritance it corresponds with *κληρονομία* (see Eph. i. 14, 18 ; Col. iii. 24 ; Heb. ix. 15, &c.). The Apostle Peter, when using it in this sense, seems to condemn the very fault of which the hierarchical party were guilty, in assuming to themselves a name to which they had no title, but which was consecrated to all God's faithful people : *μηδ' αὖς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κληρῶν, ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου* "neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." We have already seen that Clement himself uses in chapter xxix. the expression *σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ* (quoted from Deut. xxxii. 9), "Israel the lot of his inheritance," in the very same sense. Chap. xli. We have here the passage, 'Let every one of you therefore, brethren, bless God in his proper station, with a good conscience, and with all gravity, not exceeding the rule of his service that is appointed to him.' It is not easy to understand the meaning of the words 'not exceeding the rule of his service that is appointed to him,' unless all the community had some service appointed to them ; for we must bear in mind that this epistle was addressed, not to the ministers, but to the church at Corinth. We are here again reminded that the sacrifices were not offered everywhere, but at Jerusalem ; nor in any place there, but only at the altar before the temple. Then it is added, 'Consider, brethren, that by how much the better knowledge God has vouchsafed unto us, by so much the greater danger are we exposed to ;'¹ that is, as we understand it, that if

¹ If we admit that these passages are interpolations of the second or

the Jews who disobeyed were punished with death, the Christians who do not confine and localise their services will suffer a still greater punishment ; which is entirely opposed to the spirit and liberty of the Christian dispensation, and the meaning of the passage in Matt. xviii. 20, " Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." The whole of these two chapters contain a Judaising hierarchical spirit, which we believe could never be written by one who had been a companion of St. Paul and had partaken of the views of the Apostles. We are therefore forced to the conclusion, that either this epistle was not written by Clement, or that it here and elsewhere suffered interpolation for a well-understood purpose. Chapter xlii. is the sequel of the two preceding, tracing the appointment of bishops and deacons to the Apostles.¹ He affirms that it was prophesied long before, quoting, or rather we should say misquoting, from Isaiah lx. 17 : " I will appoint their overseers in righteousness and their ministers in faith." The words in the Septuagint version are, *Καὶ δάσω τοὺς ἀρχόντας σοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.*² We see by this there is here the word *ἐπισκόπους* (overseers), but no *διακόνους* (ministers), or *ἐν πίστει* (in faith). The passage is translated by Brenton thus,

third century, as Neander and other learned men have supposed, we get rid of a great difficulty, and find there was not much time between the appearing of the hierarchical and the sacerdotal ideas.

¹ No mention is here made of elders, and therefore they must have been included in the word bishops.

² Chevalier quotes, in the notes, the words *ἐπισκόπους* and *διακόνους*, which shows that he had not verified the passage.

‘I will make thy princes peaceable, and thy overseers righteous.’ Henderson has this version, ‘I will make thy overseers peaceful and thy rulers righteous,’¹ which is very much the same as the Authorised Version in English, the word *ἐπισκόπους* being translated ‘exactors.’ Chapter xliii. refers to the quelling of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, about the priesthood, and the budding of Aaron’s rod. In chap. xliv. Clement tells us, ‘The Apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ that there should contentions arise upon account of the ministry;² and therefore, having a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed persons, as we have before said, and then gave direction how, when they should die, other chosen and approved men should succeed in their ministry. Wherefore we cannot think that those may justly be thrown out of their ministry who were either appointed by them, or afterwards chosen by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole church; and who have with all lowliness and innocency ministered to the flock of Christ, in peace, and without self-interest, and were for a long time commended by all. For it would be no small sin in us, should we cast off those from their ministry who holily and without blame fulfil the duties of it. Blessed are those priests (*πρεσβύτεροι*) who, having finished their course before these times, have

¹ Migne (in p. 294, n. 87) quotes the following: ‘Qui ausus est tot ineptias Clementis nomine vendere, etiam sacris literis hanc clausulam adjecit, ut assumentum hoc præcedentibus responderet.’—*Bern.*

² In the margin we read ‘about the name of the bishopric.’ The Greek text is: ‘*Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*.’ ‘de nomine episcopatus.’ For other readings, see Clark’s *Antenicene Library*, vol. i. p. 38, n. 2.

obtained a fruitful and perfect dissolution; for they have no fear lest anyone should turn them out of the place which is now appointed for them. But we see how you have put out some who lived reputably among you from the ministry, which by their innocence they had adorned.' We learn plainly from this chapter that contentions had arisen in the church at Corinth regarding the bishop's office, and that the community either had the power of deposing their bishops, or at all events claimed it. We learn also that Clement reproved them for exercising this power harshly and unjustly. We would notice the expression, 'And then gave direction how, when they should die,' &c. : Καὶ μετὰξὺ ἐπινομήν δὲ δώκασιν, &c. ; 'et deinceps futuræ successionis regulam tradiderunt.' This word ἐπινομήν has given rise to great discussion and variety of opinion. Migne says (p. 297, n. 95), 'Vox insolens plurimum negotii viris doctis facessivit. Hinc al. legebant ἀπονομήν, al. ἐπιλογήν, al. ἐπιταγήν, al. ἐπιμονήν. Nec minor in ejus interpretatione dissensus: Hi enim reddebant *ordinem præscriptum*, Isti *præscriptas officiorum vices*, Illi *præceptum, formam*,' &c. &c. (which see); also Chevalier's 'Translation,' p. 32, n. 6. The word ἐπινομήν is not to be found in the New Testament, and not in many lexicons. It signifies a mutual right of pasturage (from ἐπινέμω, to share among, distribute); see Stevens' 'Thesaurus.' Whilst reproving the Corinthians for deposing some of their ministers, he uses the words, in referring to their appointment, 'with the consent of the whole Church,' συνευδοκησάσης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πάσης, 'consentiente universa Ecclesia,' which shows that nothing

was done at this time in the ordination of ministers without the consent of the whole community. We do not agree with Chevalier when he says there is here ‘a clear intimation given of the different parts which the clergy and people took in the ordination of a bishop. The first appointment rested with the Apostles and bishops, but the consent of the people was necessary.’ This subject is by no means clear, when Holy Scripture is silent about the appointment of bishops or presbyters, and especially when we see distinctly, in Acts vi. 2, that it was the *πλῆθος* (the multitude) who chose the deacons. It is of no use referring to Cyprian and Origen, for the hierarchical spirit had very much increased in their times.¹ Again, the word (bishop) *ἐπίσκοπος* does not occur in all this chapter, though the word *ἐπισκοπῆς* (bishopric) does; but immediately after in the next sentence we read *Μακάριοι οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*, ‘blessed are those presbyters or elders,’ &c., showing that the office of the bishop and the elder was one and the same. We have, again, the Jewish expression, *καὶ προσενέγκοντας τὰ δῶρα*, ‘and offering the gifts,’ as if this was the principal duty that devolved on a bishop.² From chap. xlv. to chap. xlvii. Clement, from examples in Scripture, shows that the good have always been persecuted by the wicked. He enjoins obedience and unity, and points out that St. Paul had reproved them for their contentious strife, and that it was a shame to allow one

¹ Lightfoot says Origen applies sacerdotal terms to the ministry (*Ep. to the Philip.* p. 256), and Cyprian he considers the champion of undisguised sacerdotalism, p. 257.

² See chap. xl. p. 43, *προσφορά* et *προσφέρειν* usurpantur de S. Cœna (Chrysostom, *Homil. LXXI.* tom. v. p. 510, &c.), Suicer's *Thesaurus*.

or two persons to lead them into sedition against their presbyters (πρεσβυτέρους, which Archbishop Wake translates priests). The remainder of the epistle recommends repentance and humiliation, sets forth the beauty of charity, enjoins prayer for those who had fallen into sin, and, after calling upon the seditious to submit to their elders (πρεσβυτέρους), commends the Corinthian church to God, and finishes by a benediction.

We have seen that this epistle contains some beautiful apostolic passages; indeed, it contains some of the finest parts of the Old Testament, and a good many quotations from and references to the New Testament. We are forced, however, to come to the conclusion, that either this epistle was not written by Clement, the companion of St. Paul, or that it has been sadly interpolated. The story of the phœnix, and the reference to the Danaïdes and Dirce, savour of some Gentile convert mixing up heathen names and fables with Christianity. The hierarchical spirit, to which we have already referred, is still more convincing that this epistle, if genuine, has been tampered with, as it is entirely opposed to the general scope of Christianity.

The *Second Epistle of Clement* is by most scholars considered spurious: see Mosheim,¹ Neander, Dr. Lardner,

¹ Mosheim, in speaking of the two epistles attributed to Clement, says, 'Of these most people consider the second is falsely ascribed to the holy man by some deceiver; the first is generally thought genuine. Yet even this bears marks of alteration by some ill-judging person, who could not bear that so great a man should have written with so little erudition and ability.'—*Eccles. History*, vol. i. p. 96 (London, 1845).

Neander says, 'This epistle (the first), though genuine in the main, is still not exempt from important interpolations. We detect a palpable

Burton, and Usher, &c. It was rejected by Photius and Jerome. Eusebius testifies ('Hist. Eccles.' lib. iii. chap. xxxviii.) that he could not find it quoted by any of the Fathers. We are surprised that Archbishop Wake should have considered it genuine; his arguments in favour of its being so are very feeble. The concluding passage, which is omitted at the end of the epistle and translated at the end of his Discourse, is more worthy of a heathen oracle than a Christian writer, so obscure is it. This second epistle is practical enough as regards religion, and, though we might make exceptions to some expressions, it is freer from a hierarchical spirit than the first, but has little claim to be the epistle of Clement. There are two other epistles ascribed to Clement, 'De Virginitate,' or 'Ad Virgines,' and considered genuine by Romanists. They are written in Syriac, and were brought first to the West by Sir James Porter, British ambassador at Constantinople. Wetstein published them with a Latin translation in 1752. Their genuineness has been

contradiction when, for example, we observe, gleaming through the surface of the whole epistle, the simple relations of the oldest constitution of the Christian Church, where bishops and presbyters were placed wholly on a level, and then in one passage (§ 40, and onward) find the whole system of the Jewish priesthood transferred to the Christian Church. The epistle which passes under the name of the second is manifestly nothing but the fragment of a homily.—*Church History*, vol. ii. p. 440 (Edinb. 1847).

Greenwood in his *Cathedra Petri*, after quoting most of the above passages, in a note, p. 62, says, 'I have treated these extracts from the letter of Clement as genuine; but I entertain great doubts on the matter. The hierarchical view is too strongly developed for the age; and in this respect the extant writings of Clement of Rome fall under the like suspicion with those of the pseudo-Ignatius, to which I shall hereafter have occasion to advert.'

attacked by Dr. Lardner in a Dissertation;¹ also by Herman Venema. These epistles are not mentioned by any writer till near the end of the fourth century, and are not considered genuine by Protestant scholars. They were probably written to commend celibacy or to correct its abuses.² The other works ascribed to Clement are, the ‘Apostolic Canons,’ the ‘Apostolic Constitutions,’³

¹ See Lardner's Works, vol. x. p. 186.

² See Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, vol. i. p. 96, n. 8; Neander's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 441.

³ For an account of them see Neander as above, and Mosheim, p. 97. In speaking of the ‘Apostolic Constitutions,’ Dr. Hook says: ‘These two collections of ecclesiastical rules and formularies were attributed, in the early ages of the Church of Rome, to Clement of Rome, who was supposed to have committed them to writing from the mouths of the Apostles, whose words they pretend to record. The authority thus claimed for these writings has, however, been entirely disproved, and it is generally supposed by critics that they were chiefly compiled during the second and third centuries; or that, at least, the greater part must be assigned to a period before the first Nicene Council. The Constitutions are comprised in eight books. In these the Apostles are frequently introduced as speakers. They contain rules and regulations concerning the duties of Christians in general, the constitution of the Church, the offices and duties of ministers, and the celebration of Divine worship. The tone of morality which runs through them is severe and ascetic, &c. They enjoin Christians to assemble twice every day in the church for prayers and psalmody, to observe various fasts and festivals, and to keep the Sabbath (i.e. the seventh day of the week) as well as the Lord's day. They require extraordinary marks of respect and reverence towards the ministers of religion, commanding Christians to honour a bishop as a king or a prince, and even as a kind of god upon earth, to render him absolute obedience, to pay him tribute, and to approach him through the deacons or servants of the church, as we come to God only through Christ! This latter kind of (profane) comparison is carried to a still greater extent, for the deaconesses are declared to resemble the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as they are not able to do anything without the deacons. Presbyters are said to represent the Apostles; and the rank of the Christian teachers is declared to be higher than that of magistrates and princes. We find here, also, a complete liturgy or form of worship for Christian churches; containing not only a description of ecclesiastical

the 'Recognitions,' and the 'Clementina,' which are not considered genuine even by Romanists, but are ascribed to some deceivers who wished to obtain for them greater authority.

The Epistles of St. Ignatius.

Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch, in Syria. Nothing is known about his birthplace or the country he came from. He is considered to have been a companion of the Apostles, and by some a disciple of St. John (Euseb. 'H. E.' iii. 36; Chrysostom, 'Homil. in St. Ignat.' tom. v. p. 499, 17; Savile). He lived towards the end of the first and the beginning of the second century. He is said to have died a martyr at Rome, under the Emperor Trajan, and on his way to have written seven epistles, which are generally considered genuine, though they have given rise to great discussion and variety of opinion. Learned men are not agreed as to the date of his martyrdom, some making it as early as 107 A.D., others as late as 116 A.D. (see Lardner's 'Credibility of Gospel History,' vol. ii. p. 74).

ceremonies, but the prayers to be used at their celebration. . . . One passage, to which Epiphanius refers, speaks a language directly the reverse of what we find in the corresponding passage of the work now extant; so that it appears probable that the "Apostolic Constitutions" which that author used have been corrupted and interpolated since his time. On the whole, it appears probable, from internal evidence, that the "Apostolical Constitutions" were compiled during the reigns of the heathen emperors, towards the end of the third century, or at the beginning of the fourth, and that the compilation was the work of some one writer (probably a bishop) of the Eastern Church. The advancement of episcopal dignity and power appears to have been the chief design of the forgery.'—Hook's *Church Dictionary*, p. 41 (London, 1854).

No less than fifteen epistles have been attributed to Ignatius, but eight of these have been rejected as spurious. (If the reader wishes to judge for himself, he will find them all translated in the 'Apostolic Fathers,' vol. i. : Clark, Edinb. 1857.) Of the seven that are generally considered genuine, there are two copies in Greek, a larger and smaller revision. Lardner considers the larger an interpolation of the smaller, and goes on to say, 'But whether the smaller themselves are the genuine writings of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is a question that has been much disputed, and has employed the pens of the ablest critics. And whatever positiveness some may have shown, on either side, I must own I have found it a very difficult question.'—'Credibility,' vol. ii. p. 76.

Neander thinks these letters contain passages which bear the stamp of antiquity ; but even the briefer revision, which is the one most entitled to confidence, has been very much interpolated. As the account of the martyrdom of Ignatius may be justly suspected (see vol. i. p. 261, n. 1), so, too, the letters, which presuppose the correctness of this suspicious legend, do not bear at all a stamp of a distinct individuality of character, and a man of these times addressing his last words to the churches. A hierarchical spirit is not to be mistaken. The letter to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, bears very much the appearance of an idle compilation ; that to the Roman church possesses more decided marks of originality than the others ('Church History,' vol. ii. p. 444).

Mosheim allows the seven epistles to be genuine, and adds: 'I must acknowledge that the genuineness of the *epistle to Polycarp*, on account of its difference in style, appears to me very dubious; and, indeed, the whole subject of the Ignatian epistles in general is involved in much obscurity and perplexity' ('*Eccles. History*,' vol. i. p. 98). Bishop Pearson has written an elaborate treatise to defend the authenticity of the seven epistles, which had been powerfully attacked by Daillé, 1666.¹

There is no subject amongst the Fathers that has given rise to greater controversy than the epistles of St. Ignatius. It would be here out of place and foreign to our purpose to give an account of it, but those who wish to see an abstract may consult Chevalier's Introduction to the 'Epistles of Ignatius,' and for a more detailed account, Cureton's '*Corpus Ignatianum*.' Archbishop Usher devoted a great deal of attention to this subject; and after discovering that there were in England two Latin versions of the epistles which differed materially from the Greek text or Latin version published, he next hoped that a Syriac version existed at Rome, or perhaps an Archaic or Armenian version. This hope was realised by the publication of a Translation of the Epistles of Ignatius in the Armenian language in 1783. This translation consists of thirteen epistles, and is supposed to have

¹ See Bishop Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epistolarum St. Ignatii* (1762). See Daillé's *De Scriptis Ignatii*, &c. (Geneva, 1666).

been made from a Syriac version. Attention was still directed to the East, and enquiries kept up in hopes of finding a Syriac version. It was not till the year 1839 that Archdeacon Tattam, in the monastery of Maria Deipara, in the desert of Nitria, in Egypt, called also the Valley of the Ascetics, discovered the whole of the epistle of Polycarp. Further search was made in 1843, and between three and four hundred volumes of ancient manuscripts were bought and lodged in the British Museum. Amongst them Mr. Cureton discovered a Syriac version of three epistles of Ignatius—viz. to St. Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. In 1847, amongst another collection, bought from M. Auguste Pachon, who had obtained them from the same monastery, Mr. Cureton discovered another copy of the three epistles, which had been presented to the monastery, in 931, by the superior, Moses of Nisibis. It is said that a third copy has been found in the East.¹ The finding of the Syriac version has given altogether a new phase to the controversy on the Ignatian epistles. Cureton maintains that these three are the only genuine epistles,² in which he is joined by Baron Bunsen.³

We will now enter upon an examination of the seven

¹ For a full account of these discoveries and the whole Ignatian controversy, see Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum* (London, 1849).

² There are others, however, who maintain that the Syriac version is an epitome of the shorter Greek text, and that the sense is more clear and connected in the latter than the former; so that the question is still unsettled. See *English Review*, No. viii.; Hefele's *Apost. Fathers*, 3rd edition; and Chevalier's *Introd. to the Epistles of Ignatius, &c.*

³ See Bunsen's *Ignatian Letters* (Hamburgh, 1847).

epistles that were so long considered genuine. The first is the—

*Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Ephesians.*¹

After the salutation, Ignatius begins by praising the Ephesians, thanks them for sending Onesimus to him, whom he greatly lauds and advises them to imitate him. We quote the latter part of chapter i., which will show the prevailing spirit of the whole epistle: ‘I received therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude² in Onesimus, who by inexpressible love is ours, but according to the flesh³ is your bishop (ἐπισκόπῳ); whom I beseech you to love, and that you would all strive to be like unto him. And blessed be God, who has granted unto you, who are so worthy of him, to enjoy such an excellent bishop.’ From chapter i. to chapter vii. inclusive, he congratulates the Ephesian church on possessing such faithful servants; exhorts them to unity and submission to their bishop and presbyters; expatiates on their being happy in having such a bishop as Onesimus; and warns them against false teachers. These chapters are of a highly hierarchical spirit; and it is worthy of

¹ This epistle is in Cureton’s Syriac version, and is considered by him genuine. It has been published by Chevalier in a parallel column with the translation of the Greek version, copied from Cureton’s edition. Clark’s edition (Edinb.) contains in parallel columns the longer and shorter translation of all the seven epistles, as well as Cureton’s translation of the Syriac version.

² This passage in Cureton’s translation of the Syriac is, ‘your abundance’ instead of ‘your whole multitude.’

³ ἐν σαρκί, ‘according to the flesh,’ is not either in the larger Greek or Syriac version. Rothe in his *Anfänge* (p. 476) translates it *episcopus visibilis*.

remark that they are not in the Syriac translation, with the exception of a sentence in chapter iii.¹ The following passages will show what is meant. Chap. ii. : 'That being subject to your bishop, and the presbytery, ye may be wholly and thoroughly sanctified.' Chap. iii. : 'For even Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is sent by the will of the Father ; as the bishops, appointed unto the utmost bounds of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ.' Chap. iv. : 'Wherefore it will become you to run together according to the will of your bishop, as also ye do. For your famous presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp.'² Therefore in your concord, and agreeing in charity, Jesus Christ is sung ; and every single person among you makes up the chorus ; that so being all consonant in love, and taking up the song of God, ye may in a perfect unity, with one voice, sing to the Father by Jesus Christ : to the end that He may both hear you, and perceive by your works that ye are indeed the members of his Son, wherefore it is profitable for you to live in an unblamable unity, that so ye may always have a fellowship with God.' Chap. v. : 'For if I in this little time have had such a familiarity with your bishop, I mean not a carnal, but spiritual acquaintance with him ; how much more must I think you happy who are so joined to him, as the Church is

¹ This sentence is, 'But forasmuch as love suffereth me not to be silent respecting you, on this account I have been forward to entreat you to be diligent in the will of God.'—Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 229.

² This sounds like flattery, and it is difficult to believe that it proceeded from a man on his way to be given up to wild beasts.

to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father; that so all things may agree in the same unity. Let no man deceive himself; if a man be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God.¹ For if the prayer of one or two be of such force, as we are told, how much more powerful shall that of the bishop and the whole church be. He, therefore, that does not come together into the same place with it, is proud, and has already condemned himself. For it is written "God resisteth the proud." Let us take heed, therefore, that we do not set ourselves against the bishop, that we may be subject to God.' Chap. vi.: 'The more anyone see his bishop silent, the more let him revere him. . . . It is therefore evident that we ought to look upon the bishop, even as we would do upon the Lord Himself.' In chapter viii. the expression 'My soul be for yours; and I myself the expiatory offering for your church of Ephesus so famous throughout the world,' is considered obscure and has given rise to various translations. The Greek and Latin texts are, Περίφημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγνίζωμαι (ὑφ') ὑμῶν Ἐφεσίων Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς διαβοήτου τοῖς αἰῶσιν. 'Purgamentum vestri sum, et lustrandus a vestra Ephesiorum Ecclesia, celeberrima in sæculis.'² *The ninth chapter* is highly commenda-

¹ This passage would be obscure were it not for an explanation to be found in the Epistle to the Trallians, ch. vii.: 'He that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, that does anything without the bishop and presbyters and deacons, is not pure in his conscience.'

² For different opinions on this passage, see Chevalier's *Epistles of Clement*, &c., p. 61, n. 7. In Cureton's translation of the Syriac it is, 'I rejoice in you and offer supplication on account of you, Ephesians, a church renowned in all ages' (p. 299). See also Jacobson's *Patres Apostolici* (Oxon. 1863), vol. ii. p. 202.

tory, we might almost say flattering; and we again remark that the beginning and end of it, which are most so, are not in the Syriac version. It is as follows: 'Nevertheless, I have heard of some who have passed by you, having perverse doctrine; whom ye did not suffer to sow among you, but stopped your ears, that ye might not receive those things that were sown by them; as being the stones of the temple of the Father, prepared for his building; and drawn up on high by the cross of Christ, as by an engine; using the Holy Ghost as the rope; your faith being your support; and your charity the way that leads unto God.¹ Ye are therefore, with all your companions in the same journey, full of God, his spiritual temples, full of Christ, full of holiness; adorned in all things with the commands of Christ; in whom also I rejoice that I have been thought worthy by this present epistle to converse, and joy together with you; that with respect to the other life, ye love nothing but God only.'² From chapter x. to chapter xiii. he exhorts to prayer and humility, always fearing God. He then contrasts in an humble spirit his own condition with theirs, and advises them to assemble often for public³ worship. We quote chapter xiv. as being

¹ The part in the Syriac version begins with the words, 'prepared for his building,' and ends with 'that leads unto God.'

² From the last clause of chap. x. down to near the end of chap. xiv. all is omitted in the Syriac version.

³ In chap. xiii., the expression in Greek, *Εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν*, 'ad gratias Deo agendas,' is translated 'To the praise and glory of God.' Chevalier here finds an invitation to celebrate the Eucharist, which seems gratuitous (see his *Translation*, p. 65, n. 8); Rothe would rather read *ῥοχην* than *δόξαν* (pp. 451, 769).

one of the most apostolical in spirit: 'Of all which nothing is hid from you, if ye have perfect faith and charity in Christ Jesus, which are the beginning and end of life. For the beginning is faith; the end charity. And these two, joined together, are of God; but all other things which concern a holy life are the consequences of these. No man professing a true faith, sinneth; neither does he who has charity, hate any. "The tree is made manifest by its fruits;" so they who profess themselves to be Christians are known by what they do. For Christianity is not the work of an outward profession; but shows itself in the power of faith, if a man be found faithful unto the end.' From chapters xv. to xviii. he points out that it is better to be silent and be a Christian, than say he is a Christian and not be one; cautions them against false teachers and false doctrine, and shows his willingness to die for the cross.¹ Chapter xix. contains the three mysteries, which seem very fanciful and for which we have no authority in Scripture. He says, 'Now the virginity of Mary, and He who was born of her, was kept in secret from the prince of this world; as was

¹ Chap. xviii. Here again we have the expression, *Περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ*, 'Purgamentum meus spiritus est crucis,' translated (by Wake), 'Let my life be sacrificed for the doctrine of the cross' (see ch. viii.). The Syriac version, which agrees with the Armenian, has it, 'My spirit boweth down to the cross' (see *Corpus Ignatian.* p. 229). At the end of this chapter we have the words, in speaking of our Saviour, 'He was born and baptised, that through his passion He might purify water.' Wake adds, 'To the washing away of sin.' We have in the longer Greek version the words: *Οὗτος ἐγενήθη, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πιστοποιήσῃται τὴν διάταξιν τὴν ἐγγχειρισθεῖσαν τῷ προφῆτῃ*. 'He was born and was baptised by John, that he might ratify the ordinance handed down to that prophet.'

also the death of our Lord—three of the mysteries most spoken of throughout the world, yet done in secret by God. How then was our Saviour manifested to the world? A star shone in heaven, beyond all the other stars, and its light was inexpressible, and its novelty struck terror into men's minds. All the rest of the stars, together with the sun and moon, were the chorus to this star; but that sent out its light exceedingly above all,' &c.¹ In the remaining chapters (xx. and xxi.) Ignatius promises to write them another letter, if the Lord will, and exhorts them again to obey their bishop and presbytery, using the following words, which seem to exalt unduly the partaking of the Lord's Supper: 'Obeying your bishop and the presbytery with an entire affection; breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality; our antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ.' He then asks for their prayers, and bids them farewell.²

Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Magnesians.

We shall see that the first part of this epistle is of a highly hierarchical spirit. After saluting the Magnesian church, in chapter ii., Ignatius says, 'Seeing then I have been judged worthy to see you,

¹ Chevalier tells us that Mary's being espoused to Joseph, and kept secret from Satan, was a favourite idea with early Christian writers (see his *Translation*, p. 67, n. 2). It seems to us diving into what is secret and attempting to make known what is not revealed.

² Of the three last chapters the Syriac version only contains a portion of the nineteenth about the three mysteries, and magic being destroyed at the manifestation of the Son of God.

by Damas your excellent bishop ; and by your very worthy presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius ; and by my fellow-servant, Sotio the deacon, in whom I rejoice forasmuch as he is subject unto his bishop as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ (I determined to write unto you).’ Chap. iii. : ‘Wherefore it will become also not to use your bishop too familiarly upon account of his youth ; but to yield all reverence to him according to the power of God the Father ; as also I perceive that your holy presbyters do ; not considering his age which indeed to appearance is young ; but as becomes those who are prudent in God, submitting to him, or rather not to him, but to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Bishop of us all. It will therefore behove you, with all sincerity, to obey your bishop ; in honour of Him, whose pleasure it is that ye should do so. Because he that does not do so, deceives not the bishop whom he sees, but affronts Him that is invisible. For whatsoever of this kind is done, it reflects not upon man, but upon God, who knows the secrets of our hearts.’ Chap. iv. : ‘It is therefore fitting that we should not only be called Christians, but be so. As some call indeed their governor, bishop ; but yet do all things without him. But I can never think that such as these have a good conscience, seeing they are not gathered together thoroughly according to God’s commandment.’ The reader will notice, in the three last chapters which we have quoted, that the great point dwelt upon is submission to the bishop. Now we quite admit the principle of subjection and obedience

as necessary in principle, according to the apostolic doctrine, "Obey them that have the rule over you," &c., in Heb. xiii. 17, for good government ; but that a man doomed to martyrdom, and even now in chains, should have spent some of his last most precious moments in harping so much on this subject, we hold to be quite incompatible with common sense. We may learn from a passage in chapter iv., 'As some call indeed their governor, bishop ; but yet do all things without him,' that there was even now a struggle between the community and the bishops for power and authority. In chapter v. he places before them, life or death, happiness or misery. In chapter vi. he commends to them concord, and then goes on to say, 'Your bishop presiding in the place of God ; your presbyters in the place of the council of the Apostles ; and your deacons most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before all ages, and appeared in the end to us. Wherefore, taking the same holy course, see that ye all reverence one another ; and let no one look upon his neighbour after the flesh ; but do ye all mutually love each other in Jesus Christ. Let there be nothing that may be able to make a division among you ; but be united to your bishop, and those who preside over you, to be your pattern and direction in the way to immortality.' Chapter vii. : 'As therefore the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to Him, neither by Himself nor yet by his Apostles ; so neither do ye anything without your bishop and presbyters,' &c. In this last quotation

we see the hierarchical spirit rising higher and higher. In the days of the Apostles we have seen there was no distinction to be found in the New Testament between bishops and presbyters, being interchangeable terms.¹ Gradually there began to be a ruling presbyter, taking precedence of his fellows, and bit by bit separating himself from them. Here we have all the three orders distinctly marked out of bishops, presbyters,² and deacons, with this exalted idea, that the bishop is to be in the place of God, the presbyters in the place of the Apostles, and the deacons 'most dear to him' (chap. vi.). We are not told in whose place they are to be: surely, as the others have had a move, to be consistent, Ignatius ought to have added, 'in the place of the bishops or presbyters!' It is not difficult to divine the spirit of the above. When Ignatius advises the Magnesians, in the latter part of our quotation, not to do anything without the bishop, we may infer that the acting power was still in the community, and that they sometimes did act independently. We shall afterwards find the tables were changed, that the bishops obtained the power, and at first did nothing without the consent of the community. They gradually arrogated to themselves the whole power, and tyrannised over the community. From chap. vii. to chap. x.³ he

¹ See p. 16; also in Clement's *Epistles*, c. xlii.

² It is rather peculiar that Archbishop Wake, who generally translates the word *πρεσβύτεροι* *priests*, here translates it *presbyters*.

³ In chap. ix. we have here one of the earliest, if not the earliest, intimations of the change from the Sabbath to the first day of the week, that is, the giving up the Sabbath, for the early Christians kept both days. The words, 'Wherefore if they who were brought up in these ancient laws (Jewish) came nevertheless to the newness of hope, no longer

cautions them against false doctrines, against living according to the Jewish law, and not after Christ. 'Lay aside therefore,' says he, 'the old, and sour, and evil leaven; and be ye changed into the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be ye salted in Him, lest any one among you should be corrupted; for by your savour ye shall be judged. It is absurd to name Jesus Christ and to Judaize. For the Christian religion did not embrace the Jewish, but the Jewish the Christian; that so every tongue that believed might be gathered together unto God.' In the remaining chapters (xi. to xv.), he apologises for forewarning them, says he is not worthy to be compared to one of them, commends the Christian graces of faith and charity, enjoins subjection to their bishop and presbyters, and asks for their prayers. He then sends salutations from the Ephesians, dates his letter from Smyrna, and bids them farewell.

Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Trallians.

The chapters in this epistle which are of a hierarchical tendency are chaps. i., ii., iii., vii., xii., and xiii.; so that out of thirteen chapters we have nearly one half which speak about the bishop. We shall only refer to some of them. Chap. i., in speaking of the bishop, contains a passage very similar to two others preceding—viz. in chap. i. to the Ephesians and chap. vi. to the Magnesians. The passage is 'that in effect I saw your

observing Sabbaths, but keeping the Lord's day,' &c. (See Chevalier's *Translation*, p. 74, n. 7.)

whole church in him.' The Greek text in chap. i. to the Ephesians is τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν, that in the two latter is τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος; but the meaning is the same, viz. 'your whole multitude.'¹ We give chapters ii. and iii. in full: 'For whereas ye are subject to your bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ; who died for us, that so believing in his death, ye might escape death. It is therefore necessary that as ye do, so without your bishop you should do nothing; also ye be subject to your presbyters, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ our hope; in whom if we walk, we shall be found in Him. The deacons also, as being the ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must by all means please all, for they are not the ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God. Wherefore they must avoid all offences as they would do fire.' Chap. iii.: 'In like manner let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ, and the bishop as the Father, and the presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God, and College of the Apostles. Without these there is no Church'² (in the margin, 'a church is not called'). 'Concerning all which I am persuaded that ye think after the very same manner; for I have received, and even now have with me, the pattern of your love in your bishop: whose very look is instructive, and whose mildness powerful; whom I am persuaded the very atheists themselves

¹ We have seen that the Syriac version differs very much from this. (See p. 58.)

² How different our Saviour's words, "Wherever two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them."

cannot but reverence. But because I have a love towards you, I will not write any more sharply unto you about this matter, though I very well might ; but now I have done so, lest, being a condemned man, I should seem to prescribe to you as an apostle.' We would here call the attention of the reader to a sort of confusion in these two chapters. In chap. ii. the Trallians are exhorted to be subject to their bishop as to Jesus Christ, and in chap. iii. to reverence their deacons as Jesus Christ, whereas in both chapters they are to be subject to the presbyters only as to the Apostles. The passage at the end of chap. ii. about the deacons is very obscure, and it is difficult to understand whether they are to be subject to somebody or that somebody is to be subject to them. Chevalier thinks the latter part of chap. iii. is corrupted (see his 'Translation,' p. 79, n. 5). We think the whole two chapters an attempt at external church building, and a piece of flattery about the bishops and presbyters and deacons entirely opposed to the spirit of Christianity. It is worthy of note that chapters iv. and v., which are not at all of a hierarchical nature, are contained in the Syriac version of 'Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans,' with the addition of the following words : 'Now therefore being about to arrive shortly at Rome' (see Cureton's 'Corp. Ignatian.' pp. 78, 231).¹ In chapters vi. and vii. he exhorts them to shun heresy as

¹ It is a curious fact that the difference of style between those two chapters and the rest of the *Epistle to the Trallians* was noticed by Vedelius more than 220 years before the Syriac version was published. (See Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, Introd. p. 53.)

poison, and the only sure way of being safe is in humbly abiding in Christ and being subject to their bishop. 'He,' says he (chap. vii.), 'that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, that does anything without the bishop and presbyters and deacons, is not pure in his conscience.'¹ The following passage from chapter viii. is valuable as showing sound views regarding the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which had not yet been corrupted: 'Therefore putting on meekness, renew yourselves in faith, that is the flesh of the Lord; and in charity, that is the blood of Jesus Christ.'² Chapter ix. contains the principal points of faith in the Apostles' Creed, which we give in full: 'Stop your ears therefore as often as anyone shall speak contrary to Jesus Christ; who was of the race of David, of the Virgin Mary; who was truly born and did eat and drink; was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate; was truly crucified and dead, both those in heaven and on earth and under the earth being spectators of it; who was also truly raised from the dead by his Father, after the same manner as He will also raise up us who believe in

¹ A similar passage is used in his *Epistle to the Ephes.* ch. v. (which see), where it is not explained as here.

² The Greek and Latin texts of the longer or interpolated version are very different; the words are, Ὑμεῖς οὖν ἀναλαβόντες πραΰτητα, γίνεσθε μιμηταὶ παθημάτων, καὶ ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ ἣν ἡγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, δοῦς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λύτρον, ἵνα τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ καθάρσῃ ἡμᾶς, παλαιᾶς δυσειθείας, καὶ ζωῇ ἡμῖν παράσχηται, μέλλοντας ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπόλλυσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν κακίας—which is translated in Clark's edition: 'Do ye therefore, clothing yourselves with meekness, become the imitators of his sufferings, and of his love wherewith He loved us, when He gave Himself a ransom for us, that He might cleanse us by his blood from our old ungodliness, and bestow life on us, when we were almost on the point of perishing through the depravity that was in us.'

Him by Jesus Christ; without whom we have no true life.' He next (x. and xi.) exhorts them to beware of those who taught that Christ only seemed to suffer (the Docetæ). In chaps. xii. and xiii. he commends concord and prayer to them; and then adds the following passage, which is perhaps more distinct than any we have yet had of the separation between the episcopate and the presbyterate: 'For it becomes every one of you, especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles.' He then sends salutations from the Smyrnæans, and bids them farewell, adding once more, 'being subject to your bishop as to the command of God, and so likewise the presbytery.'¹

At the close we have the expression which occurs before ('Epistle to the Ephes.' ch. viii.), 'My soul be for yours,'² which seems rather a curious translation. Chevalier has, 'May my life be your expiation,' which seems equally contrary to sound doctrine, as we are told, 'the blood of Christ alone cleanseth from all sin.' Clark's 'Translation,' for the shorter, has, 'Let my spirit be sanctified by yours,' &c.; and for the longer, 'My spirit salutes you,' and which seems to be the best translation, as the words occur again both in the shorter and longer Greek text in the 'Epistle to the Romans,' chap. ix. (which see).

¹ The longer version has 'and to the deacons.'

² This passage is very obscure, and we think very incorrectly translated by Archbishop Wake. The shorter Greek text has 'Ἀγνίζετε ὑμῶν τὸ ἑμὸν πνεῦμα, the longer 'Ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς. Vossius proposes to read, 'Ἀγνίσματα ὑμῶν, and Cotlerius 'Ἀγνίζηται. (See Chevalier, p. 84, n. 7; and Clark's *Translation*, p. 206, n. 2.)

Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans.

This epistle was written from Smyrna, and is one of the three epistles in the Syriac Version, which, however, is much shorter than the Greek Version. It contains nothing of a hierarchical tendency, and for this reason has perhaps better claims for being genuine than almost any of the others. There is one prevailing idea throughout the whole epistle—viz. a morbid desire to become a martyr by being committed to the wild beasts, accompanied with a fear lest the Romans should prevent him. To show this, we quote the following passages :—

Chap. ii.: ‘But if you shall love my body, I shall have my course again to run. Wherefore ye cannot do me a greater kindness than to suffer me to be sacrificed unto God, now that the altar is already prepared. Chap. iv.: ‘I write to the churches, and signify to them all that I am willing to die, unless you hinder me. I beseech you that you show not an unseasonable goodwill towards me. Suffer me to be food to the wild beasts ; by whom I shall attain unto God. For I am the wheat of God ; and I shall be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. Rather encourage the beasts, that they may become my sepulchre, and may leave nothing of my body ; that being dead I may not be troublesome to any. Then shall I be truly the disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body,’ &c. Chap. v.: ‘May I enjoy the wild beasts that are prepared

for me ; which also I wish may exercise all their fierceness upon me ; and whom for that end I will encourage, that they may be sure to devour me, and not serve me as they have done some, whom out of fear they have not touched. But and if they will not do it willingly, I will provoke them to it. Pardon me in this matter ; I know what is profitable for me. Now I begin to be a disciple ; nor shall anything move me, whether visible or invisible, that I may attain to Jesus Christ. Let fire and the cross ; let the companies of wild beasts ; let breakings of bones, and tearings of members ; let the shattering in pieces of the whole body, and all the wicked torments of the devil, come upon me ; only let me enjoy Jesus Christ.' In reading the above passionate appeals, and the glorying in the carnage that was to follow, one cannot but be struck with the great contrast between Ignatius and the Apostle Paul, and the dignity manifested by the latter when about to suffer. In writing to Timothy, in his second epistle, chap. iv. 6-8, he says, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith ; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day ; and not to me only, but unto all them also who love his appearing." In referring to the above passage, Bunsen says : ' There certainly is in Ignatius a morbid element. He looks forward to his death, neither like Socrates, nor like St. Paul. When near the imperial city, the destined place of his martyrdom, his feelings are

roused to the pitch of enthusiasm, and his mind does not show that sublime self-possession and serenity which the words of the Apostle breathe in a similar position.¹ There is a spirit of humility and self-abasement throughout the epistle which one cannot but admire. Supplicating the prayers of the church at Rome, he says (chap. iii.), ‘Only pray for me, that God would give me both inward and outward strength, that I may not only say but will, nor be only called a Christian, but be found one,’ &c.² The word bishop does not occur once in all this epistle. In supplicating their prayers for his church, he says (chap. ix.): ‘Remember in your prayers the church of Syria, which now enjoys God for its shepherd instead of me. Let Jesus Christ only oversee it (αὐτῷ ἐπισκοπήσει) and your charity.’ This is the only place in which reference is made to the episcopal office, and consequently in this respect this epistle differs very much from the others. In conclusion, he dates his letter from Smyrna, and informs them of his drawing near to them, and exhorts them to ‘be strong unto the end in the patience of Jesus Christ.’

Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Philadelphians.

This epistle partakes very much of the hierarchical spirit. There are eleven chapters, and six out of these—viz. chaps. i., ii., iii., iv., vii. and viii., besides the in-

¹ Bunsen's *Christianity*, vol. i. p. 91.

² From the sixth to the tenth inclusive the text is almost entirely omitted in the Syriac version, but at the end of ch. ix. there is a passage which in the Greek text forms the fourth and fifth chapters of Ignatius' *Epistle to the Trallians*.

troductory address—have more or less of this tendency. There is much sameness with what has been already noticed, so that we shall only refer to some of them. There is a spirit of commendation, amounting almost to flattery, which now-a-days would be considered transgressing the bounds of good taste, not to speak of more serious views. This spirit shows itself in these epistles again and again, of which we will give some examples. This complimentary style is particularly used when speaking of the bishop, presbyters, deacons, and sometimes of the church. For instance, the first chapter begins, ‘Which bishop I know obtained that great ministry among you, not of himself, neither by man,¹ nor out of vain glory; but by the love of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ: whose moderation I admire, who by his silence is able to do more than others with all their vain talk. For he is fitted to the commands, as the harp to its strings.’² Wherefore my soul esteems his mind towards God most happy, knowing it to be fruitful in all virtue, and perfect; full of constancy; free from passion, and according to all the moderation of the living God.’³ A man must know his friend very intimately to be able to speak thus of him. But this mode of speaking is not unusual with Ignatius, and does not seem to have been confined to any particular individuals. He cautions them against divisions and false doctrines, and tells them that ‘as many

¹ This passage seems an imitation of Gal. i. 1.

² This is a favourite figure with Ignatius (see *Ep. to the Ephes.* chap. iv.).

³ It would be very desirable to have a few such bishops in the present day!

as are of God and of Jesus Christ are also with their bishop ;' and that 'if any one follows him that makes a schism in the Church, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God' (chap. iii.). We quote the whole of chapter iv. : 'Wherefore let it be your endeavour to partake all of the same Holy Eucharist. For there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and one cup, in the unity of his blood ; one altar ; as also there is one bishop, together with his presbytery, and the deacons my fellow-servants ; that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to the will of God.'¹ In the shorter Greek text, the first sentence of this chapter is, [Σπουδάσατε οὖν] μία εὐχαριστία χρῆσθαι, which in Latin is, 'Studete igitur una gratiarum actione uti,' 'study to use one giving of thanks,' which seems to be the correct rendering. The word εὐχαριστία is never used in the New Testament for the Lord's Supper ; but the verb εὐχαριστέω is used both in the Gospels and Epistles, when speaking of our Lord having given thanks, before distributing the bread and giving the cup,² from which probably it came by degrees to signify the Holy Communion.³ The same word is used when our Lord gave thanks at the miracles of the

¹ What a difference there is in the passage, which seems to have been in the writer's mind, Ephes. iv. 4-6 : "There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling ; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." There is nothing here about any *altar*, or *bishop* !

² See Matt. xxvi. 27 ; Mark xiv. 23 ; Luke xxii. 19, 20 ; 1 Cor. xi. 24.

³ Suicer's definition of Εὐχαριστία is, gratificatio, gratulatio, gratiarum actio. Est grata beneficii recordatio. II. Apud Scriptores Ecclesiasticos Εὐχαριστία vocatur Sacra Domini Cœna ; for which he quotes Justin, Cyril, Celsus, Clemens Alex., &c. &c. (See Suicer's *Thesaur.*)

loaves and fishes.¹ Indeed, it was a word commonly used for giving thanks.² Chap. vi. is against Judaizing teachers. Chaps. vii. and viii. contain the following passages: 'I cried whilst I was among you; I spake with a loud voice; attend to the bishop, and to the presbytery, and to the deacons.' 'Do nothing without the bishop.' 'The Lord forgives all that repent, if they return to the unity of God, and to the council of the bishop.' Whilst exhorting them to unity and to do nothing out of strife, he says, 'Because I have heard of some who say, Unless I find it written in the originals, I will not believe it to be written in the Gospel. And when I said, It is written, they answered what lay before them in their corrupted copies.' The meaning of this passage is very doubtful, the shorter Greek text has, "Ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὕρω (ἐν) τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω" 'Quoniam si non in veteribus invenio, in Evangelio non credo.' In the longer text the reading is, "Ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὕρω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὐ πιστεύω" 'Si non invenero Evangelium in antiquis, non credam.'

¹ See Matt. xv. 36; Mark viii. 6, &c. (See Suicer's *Thesaur.*)

² See Luke xviii. 11; Acts xxvii. 35, &c.

In chap. v. there is a dubious passage, 'Fleeing to the Gospel, as to the flesh of Jesus,' ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, 'and to the Apostles as to the presbyters of the church.' Migne, in his *Patrol.* of what is called the genuine epistle (shorter), has translated this in Latin in the true Roman sense, viz. 'tanquam ad corporaliter præsentem Christum,' which seems unjustifiable; and in the text of the interpolated (longer) he has translated the very same words, 'tanquam ad carnem Jesu Christi,' which is the true rendering. In note 71, p. 828, he says, 'Hieronym. vel quisquis auctor fuit commentariorum illorum in psalm. cxlvii. "Ego Corpus Christi Evangelium puto, sanctas scripturas, doctrinam ejus."' Vide Clement Alexand., Origen et Euseb., &c. Usher and Le Clerc also agree with this interpretation. (See Cheval. p. 100, n. 9).

Archbishop Wake seems to lean by his translation to the larger recension, by which we may be given to understand that even at this early time the New Testament Scriptures had been tampered with. We rather prefer the shorter version, and think that it refers to the Old Testament Scriptures, especially as he had been speaking of Judaism.¹ The remainder of this chapter (viii.) is beautiful for its simplicity: 'But to me Jesus Christ is instead of all the uncorrupted monuments in the world; together with those undefiled monuments, his cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which is by Him; by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified.' In conclusion (ix. to xi.), he shows the Gospel dispensation far excels the Jewish, entreats the church at Philadelphia to ordain some deacon² to go to the church at Antioch, as other neighbouring churches had sent them, some bishops, others presbyters, and deacons. He dates his letter from Troas, sends salutations from the Christians there, and bids them farewell.

Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Smyrnæans.

The first half of this epistle appears to have been written against the Docetæ,³ who taught that Christ

¹ Lardner and Le Clerc think that this passage refers to the original autographs of the Gospel. (See Chevalier's *Ep. of Clement*, on p. 102, n. 6.)

² In the shorter recension the reading is *χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον*, in the longer *ἐπισκοπον* is used; but both show that the power of appointing their ministers was still in the church.

³ See *Ep. to the Trallians*, chap. x.; and *Tertul. Adv. Valentinianos*, chap. xxvii.

only seemed to have a body and to have suffered. He begins by stating his faith in the descent, birth, baptism, death and resurrection of our Saviour, and that He was really God as well as man. He cautions them (chap. iv.) against those heretics whom he terms 'certain beasts in the shape of men.' In a Christian spirit he adds, 'only you must pray for them, that if it be the will of God they may repent. . . . For if all these things were done only in show by our Lord, then do I also seem only to be bound; and why have I given up myself to death, to the fire, to the sword, to wild beasts?'¹ Chap. vi. seems to teach a doctrine for which we have no warrant in Scripture—viz. that angels and other superior beings might be saved by the death of Christ; implying that angels require salvation, or, in other words, that they are sinners. He cannot mean the fallen angels; for he says, 'Let no man deceive himself; both the things which are in heaven, and the glorious angels and princes, whether visible or invisible, if they believe not in the blood of Christ, it shall be to them condemnation.' And then, as if this were a hard doctrine (which he may have received by revelation!), he adds the words of our Saviour: "He that is able to receive this, let him receive it."² Chap. vii., if taken literally, would seem to

¹ This passage reminds us of St. Paul's expression in 1 Cor. xv. 32, when speaking of the resurrection, "If, after the manner of men, I have fought with wild beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not?" (See also *Ep. to the Trallians*, ch. x.)

² Matt. xix. 12. Chevalier quotes a passage from Jerome to show that Ignatius was not the only early Christian who held this opinion; but the quotation only shows that he knew nothing about this doctrine. It ends

favour the doctrine of Transubstantiation. In speaking against those who differed from him, he says, 'They abstain from the Eucharist, and from the public offices, because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of his goodness, raised again from the dead.' There is a phrase in this chapter which has given rise to a good deal of discussion: 'But much better would it be for them to receive it (*αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾶν*), that they might one day rise through it;' some thinking it to refer to these gifts, others to the *Agapæ*, or feasts (see Chevalier's 'Translation,' p. 108, n. 8).

We give the whole of chap. viii. as a specimen of the hierarchical spirit: 'See that ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ the Father; and the presbytery, as the Apostles. And reverence the deacons as the command of God. Let no man do anything of what belongs to the church separately from the bishop. Let that Eucharist be looked upon as well established which is either offered by the bishop, or by him to whom the bishop has given his consent. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people (*πληθός*) also be; as where Jesus Christ is, there is the *Catholic* Church. It is not lawful without the bishop, neither to baptise nor to celebrate the Holy Communion; but whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing unto God; that

thus: 'Neque enim scire possumus quo modo et angelis, et his qui in inferno erant, sanguis Christi profuerit; et tamen quin profuerit nescire non possumus.' It was merely his opinion, and we think may be classed amongst those questions that do not tend to edification.

so whatever is done, may be sure and well done.' In this short chapter the word bishop occurs no less than six times. This is the first time we find in the Fathers the use of the word Catholic (καθ' ὅλον), universal.¹ It also occurs in the 'Relation of the Martyrdom of Polycarp,' chap. viii. It is not to be found in the text of Sacred Scripture, but was afterwards applied to the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. Jude and St. John, because they were addressed to Christians in general, and not to any particular church. The words translated 'celebrate the Holy Communion,' in Greek are ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, which would lead one to suppose that the ἀγάπη and the Holy Communion were the same. We very much prefer the rendering in Clark's (Edinb.) edition, 'celebrate a love feast.' In chap. ix. we have the following words: 'It is a good thing to have a due regard both to God and to the bishop; he that honours the bishop shall be honoured of God. But he that does anything without his knowledge, ministers unto the devil.' The favourite expression, 'My soul be for yours' occurs again in chap. x. (see 'Ep. to the Ephes.' chap. xxi., and 'Ep. to St. Polycarp,' chaps. ii. and vi.). He draws his epistle to a close by asking the church at Smyrna to

¹ For other meanings of the word Catholic, see Suicer's *Thesaurus*; also Hook's *Church Dictionary*, where he shows the absurdity of this term being arrogated by the Romanists. He finishes his article by excluding nonconformists (in his own hierarchial way) with these words: 'Let the member of the Church of England assert his right to the name of Catholic, since he is the only person in England who has a right to that name. The English Romanist is a Romish schismatic, and not a Catholic.' Some think the word Catholic here signifies *visible*; others, again, among whom is Baumgarten, think it means *true*. (See Migne's *Patrol.* p. 714, n. 88.)

send some delegate from them to Antioch to congratulate the church there on their state of peace and unity (chap. xi.). He sends salutations to them from the brethren at Troas (whence he writes), by Burrhus (xii. and xiii.), not forgetting the families of the brethren at Smyrna 'and the virgins¹ that are called widows.' He admonishes them to be strong in the power of the Holy Ghost, and takes leave of them.

Epistle of St. Ignatius to St. Polycarp.

This epistle is one of the three in the Syriac version, and appears first in order in Cureton's edition of them. It is one of the shortest of all the epistles, and, with the exception of the two last chapters (vii. and viii.), is all in Cureton's translation. It reminds one of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus. He begins by congratulating Polycarp on being established in God as upon a rock, and goes on to advise him both as regards himself and the church. He says (chap. i.): 'Maintain thy place with all care both of flesh and spirit; make it thy endeavour to preserve unity, than which nothing is better. Bear with all men, even as the Lord with thee. Support all in love, as also thou dost. Pray without ceasing; ask more understanding than what thou already hast. Be watchful, having thy spirit always awake. Speak to every one according as God shall enable thee. Bear the infirmities of all, as a perfect combatant; where the labour is great the gain is the more. If thou shalt love the good disciples,

¹ These are supposed to be deaconesses. (See Chevalier's *Translation*, p. 111, n. 6.)

what thank is it? ¹ But rather do thou subject to thee those that are mischievous, in meekness,' &c. He directs him how to act with regard to those who differ from him; charges him to attend to the widows, to men and maid servants; and to enjoin that husbands should love their wives even as the Lord the church. Then comes the following passage regarding virginity: 'If any man can remain in a virgin state, to the honour of the flesh Christ,² let him remain, without boasting. But if he boast, he is undone. And if he desire to be more taken notice of than the bishop, he is corrupted'³ (chap. v.). We have quoted the above passage not because we have any decided objection to the advice here given, but because this doctrine about virginity afterwards became so much abused by the church of Rome. We must remember that when St. Paul advised others to continue as he was, unmarried, he is particularly guarded in telling he had no commandment from the Lord; that it was only his own private opinion; then, again, these were times of persecution and that men unmarried could act more independently than those who were married. But above all, we should never forget that the Apostle left men free to act as they thought best according to the gift that God had given them.⁴ In chap. vi. he abruptly diverges to address the

¹ Matt. v. 46.

² This obscure rendering is translated by Cureton 'of the flesh of our Lord,' others read 'of Him who is the Lord of flesh.'

³ Jacobson thinks this passage refers to one remaining a virgin glorying over a married bishop.

⁴ See the whole of chap. vii. of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, especially verses 6 to 9, and 26.

people about their bishop, as usual: 'Hearken unto the bishop, that God also may hearken unto you.' Then comes the oft-repeated expression, 'My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop with their presbyters and deacons.'¹ In chap. vii. we have a request from Ignatius to Polycarp 'to call a select Council' (συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον),² and choose some one whom they particularly loved, to send to Syria, who would comfort the church at Antioch. This passage shows that the power of choosing messengers or ambassadors was still in the hands of the community, but the Council was to be limited. We shall see this power gradually decreased, till it altogether disappeared. In the last chapter (viii.) he requests Polycarp to write to the neighbouring churches, that they also might in like manner send messengers and letters to the church at Antioch. After various salutations, he bids them farewell.

ST. POLYCARP.

Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philippians.

Little is known about the early days of Polycarp; but we learn from Irenæus,³ bishop of Lyons, who was his disciple, that he was taught by the apostles, especially St. John and others, who had seen our Lord. He is considered by Archbishop Usher⁴ and others to have been 'the angel of the church in Smyrna' referred

¹ See chap. ii.

² Some read 'a very solemn council;' see Clark's *Translation*. The literal meaning is 'most becoming God.'

³ *Hær.* iii. 3.

⁴ *Proleg. ad Ignat. Epist.* c. iii.

to by St. John in the Apocalypse (see Rev. ii. 8–10). This epistle is generally considered genuine, both by the ancient Fathers and modern scholars. We have the testimony not only of Irenæus, but also of Eusebius and St. Jerome.¹ There is no doubt that Polycarp suffered martyrdom at a very advanced age, if we depend upon Irenæus, and the account given of it in a letter from the church of Smyrna to the church of Philadelphia,² &c. But there has been a difference of opinion among learned men as to the date, some making it as early as A.D. 148, and others as late as 169.³ This epistle has much more of an apostolic spirit than the epistles of Ignatius; even the address is much more like what we meet with in Sacred Scriptures: ‘Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him, to the church of God which is at Philippi; mercy unto you and peace from God Almighty, and the Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, be multiplied.’ We quote the first chapter as an example of sound doctrine: ‘I rejoiced greatly with you in our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye received the images of a true love, and accompanied, as it behoved you, those who were in bonds, becoming saints;⁴ which

¹ See Euseb. *Eccles. History*, lib. iv. c. xiv.; Jerom. *De Viris Illustr.* c. xiii.

² See *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, c. ix.

³ For a further account of Polycarp’s death, &c. we refer the reader to Lardner’s *Credibility*, vol. ii. p. 34, and Introduction to Chevalier’s *Translation*, p. 21.

⁴ Similar expressions are to be met with in Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* c. xi. and *Ad Smyrn.* c. xi. The following beautiful passage is the end of one quoted from Cyprian, *Ep.* 76 (Fell), by Chevalier: ‘O pedes feliciter vincti, qui non à fabro sed Domino resolvuntur! O pedes feliciter vincti, qui itinere salutari ad paradisum diriguntur! O pedes in seculo ad præsens ligati, ut sint semper apud Dominum liberi!’—Chevalier’s *Translation*, p. 45, n. 2.

are the crowns of such as are truly chosen by God and our Lord ; as also that the root of the faith which was preached from ancient times remains firm in you to this day, and brings forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered Himself to be brought even to the death for our sins, whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death.¹ Whom having not seen ye love ; in whom though now ye see Him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.² Into which many desire to enter ; knowing that by grace ye are saved ;³ not by works, but by the will of God, through Jesus Christ.' The latter part of this chapter contains, in a short space, no less than three quotations from the New Testament, showing that Polycarp was well acquainted with the writings of St. Luke, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Again, it is valuable as teaching distinctly the doctrine of 'Justification by faith without works,' the cardinal doctrine of our Protestant Reformation. Chap. ii. contains at least ten different allusions to passages in the New Testament, in which he advises the Philippians to continue steadfast in the faith. In chaps. iii., iv., and v., he refers them to the epistle St. Paul had written to them, dwells on the duties of husbands, wives and widows ; of deacons, young men and virgins, all in a most apostolic spirit. Chap. vi. has the following words : 'Being subject to the presbyters and deacons as unto God and Christ,' which are almost the *ipsissima verba* so often repeated by Ignatius.⁴ The advice to

¹ Acts ii. 24.² Peter i. 8.³ Ephes. ii. 8.⁴ Migne, in his *Patrol.* p. 1010, n. 70, to account for the omission of

presbyters (elders) in chap. vi. is so good that we give it in full : 'Let the elders be compassionate and merciful towards all ; turning them from their errors ; seeking out those that are weak ; not forgetting the widows, the fatherless, and the poor ; but always providing what is good, both in the sight of God and man ;¹ abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgment ; and especially being free from all covetousness. Not easy to believe anything against any ; not severe in judgment ; knowing that we are all debtors in point of sin. If therefore we pray to the Lord, that He would forgive us, we ought also to forgive others ; for we are all in the sight of our Lord and God ; and must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ ;² and shall everyone give an account of himself. Let us therefore serve Him in fear, and with all reverence as both Himself hath commanded ; and as the Apostles who have preached the gospel unto us, and the prophets who have foretold the coming of our Lord, have taught us ; being zealous of what is good, abstaining from all offence and from false brethren ; and from those who bear the name of Christ in hypocrisy, who deceive vain men.' We might go on to quote the next four chapters, which are equally good ; in which he tells us that he, who does not confess that Jesus Christ³ is come in the flesh is Antichrist ;

bishops, has the following quotation : 'Polycarpus episcopi non facit mentionem, quippe qui, verecundia impeditus, eum nollet cohortari.' Vide Rothe, *Anf.* p. 409 sq. We are, on the contrary, persuaded that they were comprehended in presbyter, being one and the same.

¹ Rom. xii. 17.

² Rom. xiv. 10 ; 2 Cor. v. 10.

³ 1 John iv. 3.

he who denies his suffering on the cross is from the devil; and he who denies the resurrection and the judgment is the first-born of Satan.¹ He strongly urges them to perseverance in what is right, sets before them Ignatius, Zozimus, Rufus, Paul, and the rest of the Apostles as examples, and especially to follow the pattern of our Saviour in the exercise of all Christian graces. From chap. xi. we learn that their former presbyter Valens and his wife had misconducted themselves, and that he had been deposed. 'I am greatly afflicted for Valens, who was once a presbyter among you; that he should so little understand the place that was given to him (in the church). Wherefore I admonish you that ye abstain from covetousness;² and that ye be chaste and true of speech. Keep yourselves from all evil. For he that in these things cannot govern, how shall he be able to prescribe them to another? If a man does not keep himself from covetousness, he shall be polluted with idolatry, and be judged as if he were a Gentile. But who of you are ignorant of the judgment of God? Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world,³ as Paul teaches. But I have

¹ This passage corresponds with the answer Polycarp is said to have given when asked by Marcion whether had he acknowledged Him. (See Euseb. *Hist.* lib. iv. c. xiv.; Iren. lib. iii. c. iii.; Chev. *Trans.* p. 49, n. 1.)

² In the margin of Archbishop Wake's edition we read 'concupiscence, or immoderate and filthy lusts;' so Dr. Hammond on Rom. i. 29, which we think, from the context, is the true rendering. On the same passage Migne has (note 89, p. 1013): 'Presbyter iste pecunias pauperum avertisse videtur, cujus facinoris uxor ejus particeps fuerat. Woch, Jacobsono autem et aliis ὁ πλεονέκτης est "adulter" quia sua uxore non est contentus; ut docet Suicerus e Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 552; "avaritia" πλεονεξία "adulterium" cujus flagitii et presbyter Valens et ejus uxor accusari videntur.'

³ 1 Cor. vi. 2.

neither perceived nor heard anything of this kind in you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured ; and who are named in the beginning of his epistle. For he glories of you in all the churches who then only knew God ; for we then did not know him. Wherefore, my brethren, I am exceedingly sorry both for him and for his wife, to whom God grant a true repentance. And be ye also moderate upon this occasion ; and look not upon such as enemies, but call them back as suffering and erring members, that ye may save your whole body ; for by so doing, you shall edify your own selves.' From the above chapter (xi.) we may draw the following inferences. 1st. That we here see there was need of discipline in the church. 2nd. that Valens and his wife had been guilty of some gross sin, followed by deposition on his part. 3rd. That the power of deposition existed in the community, else why would Polycarp ask them not to treat them too severely, but on repentance to restore them, 'not as enemies, but as erring members.' 4th. That presbyters were still married men, and that no law of celibacy was in force. In the remainder of the epistle (xii. to xiv.) he prays for the Philippians and asks their prayers. 'Pray,' says he 'for all the saints, pray also for kings, and all that are in authority ; and for those who persecute you, and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross ; that your fruit may be manifest in all : that ye may be perfect in Christ.' He tells them he forwards to them the epistles he had received from Ignatius, and begs them to let him know if they had any certain news regarding him, or those with him. He finishes by commending to

them Crescens, the bearer of the epistle, and his sister. In speaking of this epistle, Neander says, 'To Polycarp is ascribed an epistle to the church at Philippi, nor are there any sufficient reasons for doubting that he was the author of it.'¹ Mosheim says, 'The epistle addressed to the Philippians, which is ascribed to him, is by some accounted genuine, and by others spurious; which of these are in the right it is difficult to determine.'² Dr. Lardner gives the following opinion of it:—'There is scarce any doubt or question among learned men about the genuineness of this epistle of Polycarp, though there have been exceptions taken to a passage or two of it, as if they were additions and interpolations. Indeed, the epistle we still have well answers to the apostolical character of Polycarp himself, and agrees with the character given of his epistle by Irenæus, and the observation of Eusebius, that he had therein quoted the first epistle of Peter, and not the second. It has also the passages expressly quoted from it³ by Eusebius. It ought, therefore, to be received and respected as his, without hesitation.'⁴ If the teaching of pure scriptural doctrine and the absence of that monarchical spirit, with one or two exceptions, which so abounds in the epistles of Ignatius, can give any claims to its being genuine, it surely possesses them to a high degree.⁵

¹ Neander's *Church History*, Edinb. vol. ii. p. 444.

² Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, vol. i. p. 99.

³ *H. E.* lib. iii. c. xxxvi. p. 108.

⁴ Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. ii. p. 98.

⁵ For a high encomium on this epistle, see Chevalier's *Translation*, Introd. p. 28.

ST. BARNABAS.

The Catholic Epistle of St. Barnabas.

The author to whom this epistle is generally attributed is the Barnabas mentioned by St. Luke in the Acts, whose original name was Josès. He was called Barnabas (son of Consolation) by the Apostles, and, as we read, was a Levite of the country of Cyprus. He sold his land and brought the money and laid it at the Apostles' feet.¹ When Paul was converted, and the Apostles were afraid of him, Barnabas had the high honour of softening down the difficulties by explaining how he had been converted on his way to Damascus, and thus he became united with the rest of the Apostles.² Barnabas afterwards became the companion-traveller of St. Paul, for we read that he fetched Paul from Tarsus to Antioch,³ to assist him in his work there. It is said that "he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith." He and Paul were separated by the Holy Ghost at Antioch for their missionary tour in Asia Minor.⁴ They returned to Antioch, and were sent to Jerusalem by the church, to consult the Apostles and elders about circumcision. When they were going a second tour into Asia Minor, they differed about taking John (Mark) with them, and on this account they separated, and after this we hear little of Barnabas, except that he and Paul were reconciled. The ancient

¹ Acts iv. 36, 37.² Acts ix. 26-28.³ Acts xi. 24-26.⁴ Acts xiii. 2.

Fathers quote this epistle as that of Barnabas. Clement of Alexandria calls him the Apostle Barnabas.¹ Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, all bear testimony to this being his epistle. Modern scholars, however, differ very much in their opinions. Archbishop Wake, Cave, Du Pin, Pearson and others, consider it to be the genuine epistle of Barnabas ; but among those who take the opposite side are Cotelierius, Basnage, and Jones. Lardner thinks it probable that it was written by Barnabas, but that it was addressed to Gentiles, and not Jews, or perhaps Christians in general.² Mosheim thinks it the production of some Jewish Christian, but not of Barnabas the companion of Paul.³ Giesler seems rather to favour the opinion of this epistle being the production of Barnabas.⁴ Neander supposes it was written by a Jew of the Alexandrian school, who attached too much importance to the Gnosis of the Alexandrian Jews, but not by Barnabas.⁵

The reader will be better able to judge for himself when we have examined the epistle.⁶ The author of this epistle, after saluting his brethren and sisters in

¹ *Strom.* lib. ii. p. 373 (Paris, 1629) ; Origen ad Celsum, lib. i. p. 49 (Cantab. 1677) ; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. xiv. ; Jerome, *De Vir. Illus.* cap. vi.

² Lardner's *Credibility*, vol. ii. p. 19.

³ Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, vol. i. p. 99.

⁴ Giesler's *Eccles. History* (Edinb.), vol. i. p. 110, n. 1.

⁵ Neander's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 439.

⁶ In Clark's *Apostolic Fathers* (Edinb.), Introd. to Barnabas, vol. i. p. 100, we have the following passage : ' Until the recent discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus* by Tischendorf, the first four and a half chapters were known only in an ancient Latin version. The whole Greek text is now happily recovered, though it is in many places very corrupt.' Reference is often made in this translation to Hilgenfeld's edition (Leipsiæ : T. O. Weigel, 1866).

the Lord, and complimenting them as to the state of their souls, gives us in chap. i. the following words, indicative of a spirit that shows itself more plainly afterwards: 'For which cause I am full of joy, hoping the rather to be saved, inasmuch as I truly see a spirit infused in you from the pure fountain of God; having this persuasion, and being fully convinced thereof, because that since I have begun to speak unto you I have had a more than ordinary good success in the way of the law of the Lord which is in Christ.' Then in the same chapter we have: 'Wherefore it will behove us, as He has spoken, to come more holily and nearer to the altar' (*honestius et altius accedere ad aram illius*). We have difficulty in understanding the meaning of this passage. In the 'Codex Sinaiticus' the words are 'Οφίλομεν πλουσιώτερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον προσάγειν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ' 'We ought more richly and more loftily to approach his fear.'¹ In Clark's 'Translation' it is thus rendered: 'We ought with the greater richness of faith and elevation of spirit to draw near to Him with reverence.'² In the next two chapters (ii. and iii.), by extensive quotations from the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zachariah, he shows that sacrifices, burnt offerings and oblations have been abolished, to introduce the Gospel economy, and that we should not run as proselytes to the Jewish law.³ Chap. iv. is very obscure. He refers to the book of Daniel about the ten kings,

¹ See Tischendorf's *Biblior. Cod. Sinaiticus* (Petropoli, 1862).

² See Clark's *Trans.* vol. i. p. 102; also note 6.

³ This passage is thus rendered in Clark's *Translation*: 'That we should not rush forward as rash acceptors of their laws,' when it is said that the Greek text is unintelligible.

the four beasts, &c., and tells us we ought to understand this, but does not explain it. In fact, the quotations are very inaccurate, and do not correspond with the assertion that he had been so favoured. He goes on to show (chaps. v. and vi.) that the sufferings of Christ were foretold by the prophets; were typified by fasting, the scape-goat and the red heifer (vii. and viii.). He makes everything of a symbolical meaning, and apparently overdraws his picture. As an example of what we mean, we quote the following from chap. viii.: 'This heifer is Jesus Christ; the wicked men that were to offer it are those sinners who brought Him to death; who afterwards have no more to do with it; the sinners have no more the honour of handling it; but the young men that performed the sprinkling signified those who preach to us the forgiveness of sins and the purification of the heart, to whom the Lord gave authority to preach his gospel; being at the beginning twelve, to signify the tribes, because there were twelve tribes of Israel. But why were there three young men appointed to sprinkle? To denote Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, because they were great before God. And why was the wool put upon a stick? Because the kingdom of Jesus was founded upon the cross; and therefore they that put their trust in Him shall live for ever. But why was the wool and hyssop put together? To signify that in the kingdom of Christ there shall be evil and filthy days, in which, however, we shall be saved; and because he that has any disease in the flesh by some filthy humours is cured by hyssop. Wherefore these

things being thus done, are to us indeed evident, but to the Jews they are obscure; because they hearkened not unto the voice of the Lord.' Chap. ix., about the spiritual meaning of circumcision and Abraham mystically foretelling Christ by name, seems very fanciful and obscure. He closes it by these words: 'He who has put the engrafted gift of his doctrine within us knows that I never taught to any one a more certain truth; but I trust that ye are worthy of it.'¹ In chapter x. he shows that the command about clean and unclean animals had all a spiritual meaning, entering into a minute description of the habits of some of them, which we believe have no existence except in his own fanciful imagination. In chapters xi. and xii., by quotations from the Old Testament, he endeavours to prove that baptism and the cross were prefigured under the law. His arguments are not always very convincing; for instance, he says: 'Consider how He has joined both the cross and the water together. For this He saith: Blessed are they who, putting their trust in the cross, descend into the water; for they shall have their reward in due time; then, saith He, will I give it them.'² He finishes chap. xi. by a quotation from the prophet Ezekiel, and puts upon it a forced interpretation which savours of baptismal regeneration. The passage is this: 'And there was a river running on the right

¹ 'Being an idle vaunt on account of the ingenuity in interpreting Scripture he has just displayed.'—Clark's *Antenicens Christ. Library*, vol. i. p. 117, n. 8.

² This passage is very obscure, and where the passages referred are to be found we are at a loss to know.

hand, and beautiful trees grew up by it ; and he that shall eat of them shall live for ever ;’¹ and then he adds : ‘ The signification of which is this : that we go down into the water full of sins and pollutions, but come up again bringing forth fruit ; having in our hearts the fear and hope which is in Jesus, by the Spirit.’² In chapters xiii. and xiv. he goes on to show that the Gentiles and not the Jews were the true heirs of the promises which were fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Surely true believers, whether Jews or Gentiles, were the heirs of the promise ! We have an extraordinary assertion in chapter xv., viz. that as God created the earth and the heavens in six days, so the world would be destroyed in six thousand years. ‘ And even,’ says he, ‘ in the beginning of the creation He makes mention of the Sabbath : “ And God made in six days the works of his hands, and He finished them on the seventh day, and He rested the seventh day and sanctified it.” Consider, my children, what that signifies, He finished them in six days. The meaning of it is this, that in six thousand years the Lord God will bring all things to an end.’³ For unto Him one day is a thousand years ; as Himself testifieth, saying, “ Behold this day shall be as a thousand years.” ’⁴ We have, at the close of the chapter, a testimony about keeping the Lord’s day. In explaining the meaning of the passage in Isaiah about the new moons and the Sabbaths,⁵ he

¹ Ezek. xlvii. 12.

² This is omitted in *Codex Sinait.*

³ How general this tradition then was, see Coteler. *Annot.* in loc., edit. Oxon. p. 90 (margin of Wake’s *Translation*).

⁴ Psalm xc. 4 ; 2 Peter iii. 8.

⁵ Isaiah i. 13.

says: "The Sabbaths which ye now keep are not acceptable unto me, but those which I have made, when resting from all things, I shall begin the eighth day, that is, the beginning of the other world." For which cause we observe the eighth day with gladness, in which Jesus rose from the dead, and, having manifested Himself to his disciples, ascended into heaven.¹

We are glad to notice in the next chapter (xvi.) very apostolical views regarding the temple of the Lord, entirely opposed to that external Church which was soon after reared, in which the house and ministers, and times and places, were exalted beyond due measure. The author of this epistle contrasts the Jewish temple with the Christian, and shows that the body of the Christian is the temple in which Christ has promised to dwell. At the beginning of the chapter we read: 'It remains yet that I speak to you concerning the temple; how those miserable men,² being deceived, have put their trust in the house, and not in God Himself who made them, as if it were the habitation of God. For much after the same manner as the

¹ 'Barnabas here bears testimony to the observance of the Lord's day in early times.'—Hefele (Clark's *Translation*, vol. i. p. 128, n. 7). We may add that we have seen by Clement's testimony Christians, in his time, kept both the seventh and the first day, or what Barnabas calls the eighth day.

² The Greek text is *πλανώμενοι οἱ ταλαίπωροι*, 'errantes miseri,' which in Clark's *Translation* is, 'The wretched (Jews) wandering in error.' From this and other passages, we conclude the author of this epistle was not a Jew, but a Gentile, as it is not likely, if he had been a Jew, he would have spoken thus of his own people. (See also chap. iii. towards the end, where we have the expression 'their law'.)

Gentiles, they consecrated Him in the temple.'¹ He then goes on to show that there was a more glorious temple to be built, viz. a spiritual temple; quoting largely from Isaiah and Daniel, and even passages that are not to be found in Scripture. He then adds: 'Consider that the temple of the Lord shall be very gloriously built; and by what means that shall be, learn. Having received remission of our sins, and trusting in the name of the Lord, we are become renewed, being again created, as it were, from the beginning. Wherefore God truly dwells in our house, that is, in us. But how does He dwell in us? The word of his faith, the calling of his promise, the wisdom of his righteous judgments, the commands of his doctrine; He Himself prophesies within us, He Himself dwelleth in us, and openeth to us who were in bondage of death the gate of our temple, that is, the mouth of wisdom, having given repentance unto us; and by this means has brought us to be an incorruptible temple.'

Chap. xvii. Barnabas here finishes the first part of this epistle by telling them that he has declared those things that regard their salvation, not having omitted anything that was necessary, adding, that if he were to speak further of things that now are and of those that are to come, they would not yet understand them, because they were hid in parables—all which seems very enigmatical. The second part, from chap. xviii. to

¹ This rendering is obscure. In Clark it is, 'They worshipped Him in the temple;' that is, 'They worshipped the temple instead of Him.' (See p. 129, n. 1.)

chap. xxi., is of a practical nature. He points out two ways. 'The way of light,' which leads to everlasting life. This consists in using a great many excellent precepts here laid down. 'The way of darkness' leads to everlasting death, and consists in doing those things which destroy the soul. Here a long list of sins is given. The epistle closes by an earnest appeal to all Christians to choose the former and to shun the latter, that they may inherit everlasting life.

We can now form some opinion regarding this epistle. There are many passages which are very obscure, partly, it may be, from the corruption of the Greek text; but independently of this, there is a loose and incorrect way of quoting from the Scriptures. Sometimes the texts are not to be found and may have been quoted from apocryphal books not now known. We have noticed also an overweening desire to turn everything into a symbol, and a conceited consciousness that he was able to throw light upon them. Notwithstanding all this, there is much that is good in the epistle, and an earnest mode of writing which must commend itself to every serious mind. If the author really went by the name of Barnabas, we cannot believe that he was the companion of Paul and Silas, who, whilst he journeyed with the former, acted the part of an apostle.¹ The epistle was no doubt written

¹ Acts xiii., xiv., &c. In the introductory notice to the epistle in Clark's edition we have the following passage:—'On perusing the epistle, the reader will be in circumstances to judge of this matter (as to its being by Barnabas) for himself. He will be led to consider whether the spirit and tone of the writing, as so decidedly opposed to all respect for Judaism, the numerous inaccuracies which it contains with respect to Mosaic enactments and observances, the absurd and trifling interpretations of Scripture which it

in early days, either at the end of the first, or towards the beginning of the second century. When compared with the epistles of Ignatius, it has little of the hierarchical spirit in it.

HERMAS.

THE PASTOR, OR SHEPHERD, OF HERMAS.

We now come to a book which differs from all the preceding, inasmuch as it is a sort of revelation, and has been compared to the Apocalypse of St. John, to the 'Divina Commedia' of Dante, and to the 'Pilgrim's Progress' of Bunyan. It was very popular in the second, third, and fourth centuries, and is supposed to have been written by Hermas, mentioned in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.¹ This opinion is maintained by Origen.² Eusebius tells us it is received by some and doubted by others, but that it was publicly read in the churches.³ Jerome bears similar testimony.⁴ Irenæus quotes it as Scripture.⁵ Tertullian is almost the only writer among the Fathers opposed to it. He calls it apocryphal, and rejects it with scorn⁶ as favouring anti-monastic opinions. Modern writers are very much divided in their opinion as to this being the work of Hermas. Some think the book a mere fiction and the person Hermas as an invention of the writer. There can

suggests, and the many silly vaunts of superior knowledge in which its writer indulges, can possibly comport with its ascription to the fellow-labourer of St. Paul' (See also Bunsen's *Christianity*, vol. i. p. 53.)

¹ Rom. xvi. 14.

² Hom. *In Rom.* lib. x. c. xvi.

³ *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. iii.

⁴ *De Vir. Illus.* c. x.

⁵ *Contra Hæres.* lib. iv. 20, 2.

⁶ *De Pudicitia*, c. xx.; Clark's *Introduct. to Hermas*, p. 320.

be no doubt, however, as to its being written in very early times, from the evidence of the Fathers. Neander says: 'It cannot be certainly determined whether the author had, or imagined he had, the visions which he describes, or whether he invented them to procure a more favourable reception for the doctrines, chiefly practical, which he advances. . . . It may be very much doubted whether the *Hermas* of the Apostle Paul was really its author, although the other tradition also (cited in the poem against Marcion, ascribed to Tertullian, and in the fragment on the canon of the New Testament, published by Muratori), which ascribes it to the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, about the year 156, is no less doubtful, since it is impossible to determine how much credit is due to these documents; and the high reputation of the book in the times of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria can hardly be reconciled with the hypothesis of so late an origin.'¹ Mosheim says: 'It seems to have been written by a man scarcely sane, since he has thought himself at liberty to invent conversations between God and the angels, for the sake of giving precepts which he considered salutary a more ready entrance into the minds of his readers. But celestial spirits, with him, talk greater nonsense than hedgers and ditchers or porters do among ourselves.'² Lardner thinks it probable that this book was written by *Hermas*, whom Paul salutes.³ Bunsen thinks it was written by *Hermas*, brother of Pius, about the year 140, in the time of Antoninus

¹ *Edinb.* vol. ii. p. 443. ² Vol. i. p. 99. ³ *Credib.* vol. ii. p. 58.

Pius. He takes it for granted that the 'Fragmentum Muratorianum' is genuine.¹

This book was called the *Shepherd* or *Pastor*, because in the second part an angel, the appointed guardian of Hermas, is introduced in the character of a shepherd. It has been divided into three books or parts. The first is called *His Visions*; the second, *His Commands*; and the third, *His Similitudes*. Bunsen divides it into two, thinking the two last should be one.

THE VISIONS OF HERMAS.

The *First Vision* is against filthy and proud thoughts, and the neglect of Hermas to chastise his sons. Bunsen compares the place of the vision, said to be 'pathless, among rocks, very steep, and impassable for water,' to that where Dante awoke to a consciousness of his sins.² This vision begins by Hermas falling in love with a young lady whom he had drawn out of the Tiber whilst bathing, who afterwards in a trance appears to him, and convinces him of the sin of concupiscence, and suddenly disappears, leaving him sad. Then an aged matron presents herself to him, and tells him that impure desires should not arise in the heart of God's

¹ Bunsen's *Christianity*, vol. i. p. 184.

² See the beginning of the *Inferno* :

' Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
Che la diritta via era smarrita,
Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura,
Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte,
Che nel pensier rinnuova la paura!
Tanto è amara, che poco è più morte.'

servants, nevertheless that God was angry with him, not so much on account of himself, as that he had not corrected his sons. She enjoins him to admonish them, that they may repent and be forgiven. She next read to him out of a book terrible words and also words of comfort and consolation. Before taking leave of him, she said : ‘Hermas, be of good courage!’

Second Vision.—This treats of his having neglected to correct his loquacious wife and his lewd sons. Hermas is again carried away by the spirit to the same place, where the old matron again appears and gives him a book, which he copies. After fifteen days, the meaning of the book was revealed to him, convincing him of the wickedness of his sons, and the weakness of his wife, who had not restrained her tongue, who, on repentance, were to be forgiven. We notice an expression here in speaking of his wife which is rather peculiar—‘Who shall be thy sister,’ ‘Quæ futura est soror tua.’¹ There is also this obscure passage : ‘For the Lord hath sworn by his glory concerning his elect, having determined this very time, that if anyone shall even now sin, he shall not be saved.’² For the repentance of the righteous has its end ; the days of repentance are fulfilled to all the saints ; but to the heathen, there is repentance even unto the last day.’

¹ Videsis h. l. cl. Cotelierum. Hinc συνίσταται. His consona mox infra reperies, cap. seq. et lib. iii. *Simil.* ix. c. xi. Migne’s *Patrol.* vol. ii. p. 897, n. 35.

² The Latin text is, ‘Præfinita ista die, etiam nunc si peccaverit aliquis, non habiturum illum salutem,’ which in Clark’s *Trans.* is, ‘That if anyone of them sin after a certain day, which has been fixed, he shall not be saved.’

In the next chap. we have the phrase repeated, 'Neither neglect thy sister;' and lower down there is added, 'Thy simplicity and singular continency shall preserve thee.'¹ When the old matron had left him, a young man explained to him that she was not a sibyl, as he had supposed, but the Church of God.²

The *Third Vision* is about the building of the Church-triumphant, and the various orders of reprobate men. The old woman again appears to Hermas in the country, and points out to him a great town, built upon the waters, of splendid square stones, by six young men who had come with her. At his request, she explains to him that the tower was herself, viz. the Church. To the enquiry, 'Why was the tower built upon the water?'³ she replied, 'It is because your life has been and will be saved through water.' She next explains that the six young men who built the tower were the holy angels of God, who were first created. Those who were engaged in carrying stones to the building were also angels, but inferior to the six. That the square white stones, which fitted exactly in the building, were the Apostles and bishops, and teachers and ministers, who had lived in godly purity and acted modestly to the elect of God.⁴ Those that were drawn out of the

¹ 'Simplicitas tua et singularis continentia saluum facient te.' This looks very like paving the way for the celibacy of the clergy.

² Bunsen says: 'We will anticipate here the explanation that this matron is not an hierarchical figure; it is God's spirit of humanity, as far as mankind lives in God and does God's work, which is personified in her' (vol. i. p. 188). We are not obliged to follow Bunsen's view.

³ Archbishop Wake has 'baptism' in the margin.

⁴ This passage seems rather hierarchical. Bunsen does not mention it,

deep were they who, after having suffered for the Lord, had fallen asleep. Those that lie on the earth and were unpolished were they whom God has approved. Those that were brought and put in the building of the tower were the young in faith and the faithful. Those near the tower were they who had sinned but would repent, that they might have a place in the building. She next explains who the stones signified that were rejected and cast far off—some round, some square or rent—all professors of Christianity, but could not be received into the building because of their sins. The white stones and round signified those who had faith, but were rich, who could not be admitted till their riches were cut away.¹ Hermas is afterwards introduced to the presence of seven women about the tower, by whom, he is informed, the tower is supported. Their names are Faith, Abstinence,² Simplicity, Innocence, Modesty, Discipline, Charity, who are said to be daughters of each other, all descending from Faith, by whom the elect shall be saved. Whosoever should serve these women, and hold fast to their works, should have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God. The remainder of this vision (chaps. ix. to xiii.) is taken up with a recommendation to fast, to exercise self-denial, to be liberal to others, and to practise other Christian graces. The explanation about her three different appearances seems foolish and trifling.

¹ We here see the beginning of that doctrine, afterwards introduced by the Church of Rome, about 'the merit of poverty,' so insisted on in monasteries and nunneries.

² Lamb, *continentia*; sic et Clem. Alex. l. c. *ἐγκράτεια*; Migne, vol. ii. p. 906, n. 32.

The *Fourth Vision* is concerning the trial and tribulation that are about to come upon men. Hermas, in this vision, sees a great beast, of which he is at first afraid; but summoning up courage, by faith he is allowed to pass it without harm. It had four colours on its head, first black, then a red and bloody colour, then a golden, and then a white. After he had passed it, lo! a virgin, arrayed in white, appeared to him (whom he recognised to be the Church). She explained to him that the beast was a type of the great tribulation that was coming. The black on the head signified the world in which we dwell; the fiery and bloody, that the world must perish through fire and blood; the golden part signified those who had escaped from the world; the white part, the age that was to come in which the elect of God would dwell.¹ With this explanation, she commands him to teach these things to the saints, and suddenly vanishes out of his sight.

The Commandments of Hermas.

This second part, where Hermas, in a vision, sees a shepherd, the angel or messenger of repentance, who was to dwell with him all the days of his life, gives the name to the whole book.² He commands Hermas to write first his commandments, of which there are twelve; and then his similitudes, of which there are ten. These

¹ In the vision of the beast, Bunsen is here reminded of Dante's three monsters, representing lust, pride, and avarice. See *Inferno*, i. 34, 'E non mi si partia,' &c.; and vol i. p. 189, of his *Christianity*.

² The Introduction to the Commandments, in Clark's *Translation*, is called the Fifth Vision.

commandments are entirely of a practical nature; by keeping them God's blessings promised would be obtained, by neglecting them punishment would be sure to follow. The first commandment regards believing in one God, who made all things of nothing. The second is against evil speaking, and enjoins indiscriminate charity.¹ The third is against lying, and of Hermas's dissimulation, which he confesses. The fourth is against adultery, and marrying another woman if the wife is alive, even if put away; the same rule is for the wife; also against spiritual adultery, or making an image. In chap. iii. of this commandment we have a passage about sin being blotted out only by going down into the water (which Archbishop Wake explains by baptism); and also if we sin wilfully after being forgiven, we can only repent once, i.e. have only one opportunity to repent.² In chapter iv. we have *monogamy* recommended. The fifth commandment treats of the sadness of the heart and of patience. The sixth teaches how to distinguish the two angels³ of every man, and the suggestions of both. The seventh, that we should fear God and not the devil. The eighth, that we must shun that which is evil and do that which is good. The ninth, that we must pray to God continually without doubting. The tenth, that we put away sadness of heart, and put on cheerfulness. The eleventh, that

¹ Hermas maintains that the unworthy receiver will have to answer to God, not the giver. We rather think this liberty of giving must be left to a man's conscience.

² We are not aware where this doctrine is to be found in the Scriptures.

³ The Greek text has ἄγγελοι, Lat. genii, MSS. Carm., Vict., Lamb et Fellus, *nuntii* et sic deinceps. (Migne's *Patrol.* p. 927, n. 91.)

the spirits and prophets are to be tried by their works. There are two spirits, the Spirit of God, and the spirit of the earth, or the devil. The twelfth, of the evil desire and the good desire, the former of the flesh, the latter of the Spirit; that believers can keep these twelve commandments and should not fear the devil.

The Similitudes of Hermas.

This third book is divided into ten parts, and is called the Similitudes, no doubt from the prevailing idea in the book. The first, seventh, ninth, and tenth contain no similitude; for this reason Bunsen makes out but six similitudes. He includes both the mandates (or commandments) and similitudes in the second book, and makes the third book begin at the ninth similitude, as it is generally called. The *first similitude* inculcates that the Christian is but a pilgrim, and that, as he has no continuing city, he ought to look after one that is to come; that it is better for rich men to provide for the poor, to judge the fatherless and the widows, than to buy lands and houses, which they must soon leave. The *second* compares the rich and the poor man to the elm and the vine. As the elm supports the vine, so the rich man is helped by the prayers of the poor man, which are more effectual than those of the rich man, who is taken up about his riches. The *third* compares the righteous and the wicked to the green (or leafless) trees and the dry (or dead), which in the winter cannot be distinguished; so in this world you cannot discern good men from the bad. The

fourth compares the summer to the world to come. Just as a good tree in summer brings forth leaves and fruit, so the righteous by their fruits shall be made manifest, and inherit the world to come; but the wicked shall be found dry and without fruit. The *fifth* begins by teaching Hermas, whilst fasting, the true nature of a fast. ‘Hearken,’ said the shepherd; ‘the Lord does not desire such a needless fast, for by fasting in this manner thou advancest nothing in righteousness. But the true fast is this: do nothing wicked in thy life, but serve God with a pure mind, and keep his commandments, and walk according to his precepts, nor suffer any wicked desire to enter into thy mind. But trust in the Lord, that if thou dost these things and fearest him, and abstainest from every evil work, thou shalt live unto God. If thou shalt do this, thou shalt perfect a great fast, and an acceptable one unto the Lord.’ The beauty of the above passage is that it shows us there is no true fasting when we do not abstain from sin; that fasting is not an external ceremony, but that it is internal, and proceeds from the heart. Then we have the similitude of the Lord of the vineyard, his son, and his servant. The servant, in the absence of his master, has his liberty promised him, if he takes care of the vineyard and stakes up his vines. On the return of the master, he is delighted to find that in addition the servant had digged it and weeded it, and therefore resolves to make him co-heir with his son. When Hermas asks the shepherd for an explanation, we have the following passage:—‘Keep the commandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be approved,

and shalt be written in the number of those that keep his commandments. But if, besides those things which the Lord hath commanded, thou shalt add some good thing, thou shalt purchase to thyself a greater dignity, and be in more favour with the Lord than thou shouldst otherwise have been. If, therefore, thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord, and shalt add to them these stations,¹ thou shalt rejoice, but especially if thou shalt keep them according to my commands.' We notice this passage because it seems to teach the corrupt doctrine 'of works of supererogation,'² and apparently contradicts the former passage about true fasting. Indeed, there is a great deal of confusion in this chapter, and there must be one of two things. If we suppose that Hermas wrote this, we are driven to the conclusion that he had no right understanding about the doctrine and could not explain it ; or that the passage is sadly interpolated and corrupted, which is more likely. At the end of chapter iii. we have a good practical injunction laid down, of computing all that we have saved when we fast, and giving the amount to the poor. In chapter v. we have a further explanation. The farm is the whole earth ; the lord of the farm, God the Father ; his son, the Holy Spirit ; the servant, the Son of God ; the vineyard, the people whom He saves ; the stakes, the messengers (angels) set over them by the Lord ; the weeds, the sins which the servants of God had committed ; the food which he sent from his supper are the commands which He gave

¹ The word 'station' in chap. i. is explained to be a fast.

² Luke xvii. 10.

to his people; the friends whom he called to his council are the holy angels; the absence of the master, the time that remains till his coming. Chap. vi.—In explaining to Hermas why the Son of God is put in the place of a servant, the shepherd denies that he is put in the place of a servant, but in great power and authority, though in the preceding chapter he calls the son a servant. A little farther on in this chapter Archbishop Wake, in a note, says: ‘This place in all the editions of Hermas is wretchedly corrupted.’¹ The whole of this part of the similitude is very confused. He finishes by commanding Hermas to keep his body and soul pure, that he might live unto God.

The *sixth* similitude, under the figures of two shepherds, describes two sorts of voluptuous men, their death, defection, and the duration of their punishment. The first shepherd is represented as feeding those men who were entirely given up to their lusts and pleasures, to whom there was no return, by repentance, unto life, because, that in addition to their other sins, they had blasphemed the name of the Lord; and others who were feeding in one place, but not leaping about, men such as had given themselves up to pleasures and delights, but had not spoken anything wickedly against the Lord, and consequently repentance might be found for them. The second shepherd is represented in a white goat’s skin, of a stern and sour countenance, with a stick full of knots in one hand, and a whip in the other, who takes from the other shepherd those who

¹ See *Translation*, p. 280, note; also Clark’s *Translation*, vol. i. p. 386, n. 2.

had been living in pleasure, but had not been skipping about, and drives them 'into a certain steep craggy place, full of thorns and briars, insomuch that they could not get themselves free from them, but, being entangled in them, fed upon thorns and briars, and were grievously tormented with his whipping; for he still drove them on, and afforded them not any place or time to stand still.' This shepherd is explained to Hermas to be one of the holy angels, appointed for the punishment of sinners, the sheep punished represent those who are afflicted with pains and torments in this life, that they may repent of their sins and turn unto the Lord. Notwithstanding all the anxiety of Hermas, and the questions put to the shepherd about the time of their punishment, there seems to be great confusion, and the answers are anything but satisfactory. In order that the reader may judge, we quote the following from chap. iv.: 'Hearken, said he, and learn what the force of both is, both of the pleasure and of the punishment. An hour of pleasure is terminated within its own space; but one hour of punishment has the efficacy of thirty days. Whosoever therefore enjoys his false pleasure for one day, and is one day tormented, that one day of punishment is equivalent to a whole year's space. Thus look how many days anyone pursues his pleasures, so many years is he punished for it. You see, therefore, how that the time of worldly enjoyments is but short, but that of pain and torments a great deal more.' The following passage from chapter i. seems anything but sound doctrine: 'For if ye shall keep yourselves from sin for the time to come, ye shall cut off a great deal of your former sins.' This seems to

teach that there is merit in works, and cuts at the root of 'justification by faith only.'¹

The *seventh* similitude shows that they who repent must bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. Hermas, being afflicted by the angel (stern shepherd) for his many sins and those of his house, is taught that he must not expect his offences would immediately be blotted out on his repenting, but that he must bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. 'He that repents,' says he, 'must afflict his soul, and show himself humble in all his affairs, and undergo many and divers vexations. And when he shall have suffered all things that were appointed for Him, then perhaps He that made him, and formed all things besides, will be moved with compassion towards him and afford him some remedy; and especially if He shall perceive his heart, who repents, to be pure from every evil work.' This passage, if merely to show the necessity of our repentance being sincere, may be good when properly understood, but it appears liable to encourage the false doctrine of our works being meritorious in the sight of God.

The *eighth* similitude, under the figure of a willow-tree and its branches, shows that there are many kinds of elect and of repenting sinners, and that all shall receive a reward proportionate to the measure of their repentance and good works. The angel shows Hermas a willow-tree which covered the fields and

¹ 'His vulnerable point is in the details of his ethical system, where the principle of self-righteousness by works appears so prominently as to obscure the very principles laid down.'—Bunsen's *Christianity*, vol. i. p. 214.

mountains, under whose shadow came all such as were called by the name of the Lord. By the willow stood a distinguished and majestic angel, who cut down boughs with a great hook, and distributed rods about a foot long to the people. When they had all received a green rod, the tree continued entire, as he had seen it before. After some time he demanded the rods again, of which there were no less than twelve gradations. Some were brought back dry, rotten and worm eaten, others dry and rotten but not worm eaten, others half dry, others half dry and cleft, others two parts green and one dry, and so on, till we come to the ninth class, whose were entirely green as they had received them; and the greatest part of the people brought their rods thus; the eleventh class brought their rods not only green, but with branches; the twelfth class, in addition to these qualities of being green and having branches, also had some fruit on them. This last class were very cheerful, and both the angel and the shepherd who stood by Hermas were delighted to see them. Each class were kept quite apart from all the rest. But the angel of the Lord crowned the twelfth class with palms, and commanded them to go into the tower. The eleventh class received a seal, were clothed in a white garment, and also sent into the tower. The tenth class were likewise clothed in white and sent into the tower, but did not receive a seal. The angel then told the shepherd to send the rest within the walls, every one into the place where he deserved to dwell. He was first carefully to examine their rods, and if any escaped then the angel

would try them on the altar. The shepherd then replanted the rods and watered them abundantly. After which he went away, promising to return in a short time; for, says he, 'He who created this tree would have all those live who received rods from it.'

The angel then explained to Hermas that the willow represented the Law of God, that is, the Son of God, who is preached to all the ends of the earth; the people under its shadow were those who had heard the gospel and believed. The venerable angel was Michael, who governed them; the rods were the law planted in their hearts. Those who were crowned, they who had overcome the devil, having suffered death, that they might keep the law; those who had green rods and branches, but no fruit, they who had kept the law, but had not suffered death, though they suffered tribulation; those who gave up their rods green, they who were modest and just, and with a pure mind had kept the commandments of God. The glorious angel then called Hermas to bring all those men, whose rods had been planted, before him with their rods, that he might examine them. Some of them were found to have been very much improved, others were still dry and rotten, or worm eaten; but each class was sent to his own proper place. The angel explained that those who had improved were they who had repented of their sins. On Hermas enquiring why all had not repented, the angel gave the following answer: 'Those whose minds the Lord foresaw would be pure, and that they would serve Him with all their hearts, to them He gave repentance.'

But for those whose deceit and wickedness He beheld, and perceived that they would not truly return unto Him, to them He denied any return unto repentance, but they should again blaspheme his law with wicked words.' All the different classes are then described, such as the deserters and betrayers of the Church, seducers and introducers of false doctrine, the doubters, evil speakers and quarrelsome, the faithful and good who were still vain and envious, the worldly-minded, those led away by vain and empty pleasures, they who have believed in God, but have lived in wickedness, yet without departing from God, having borne his name, and readily received into their houses the servants of God, and repented of their sins. The substance of which is, that life was offered to those who repented, and death to those who persisted in sin. This similitude finishes by the words: 'Do thou walk in these commands, and thou shalt live unto God; and whosoever shall walk in these, and exercise them rightly, shall live unto God.'

Ninth similitude.—The heading of this similitude is 'The greatest mysteries of the Church militant and triumphant which is to be built.' Under the figure of a tower built on a high rock, surrounded with twelve mountains of different colours and aspects, the Church of God is represented. On the side of the rock a new door was cut. The rock which looked old represented the Son of Man as God, being older than any creature. The door also represented Him, as our Saviour, because He appeared in the last days. The stones for the building of the tower were to be carried through the gate;

those that were not were rejected, implying that no man can enter the kingdom of heaven but he who bears the name of the Son of God. Those who built the tower were the angels. The tall man who went about rejecting the stones was the Son of God, and the six men who attended Him were the angels of the most eminent degree, which were continually round about Him. The tower was the Church. The twelve virgins around the door were the holy spirits; for no man could enter the kingdom of heaven without being clothed with their garments. The stones rejected were those who bore the name, but had not put on the garment. Their names were their garment, for the Son of God also beareth their names. The stones delivered by the virgins that remained in the building were clothed with their power. So the whole tower was of the same colour as the rock, and as it were of one stone. So those who had believed in God by his Son had put on this spirit. So they were of one spirit, one body, and one colour of their garments. The stones rejected that had been carried through the gate, and delivered by the hands of the virgins into the building of the tower, were they who had fixed their desires on the women clothed in black, whose shoulders were at liberty and their hair loose. They were, however, allowed time to repent, that they might be replaced in the building; but if not, they should be utterly cast off, and others put in their place. The tower was built upon a rock because the Son of God, who supports the whole world, supports and sustains all who willingly bear his name. The names of the four virgins who were

the more powerful, and who stood at the corners of the gate, were Faith, Contenance (or abstinence), Power (or strength), and Patience. The rest who stood beneath these were Simplicity, Innocence, Chastity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding (or intelligence), Concord, Charity. Those who bear these names, and the name of the Son of God, should enter into the kingdom of heaven. The names of those women clothed with the black garment were Perfidiousness (or faithlessness), Incontinence (or intemperance), Infidelity (or unbelief), Pleasure (or lust). The rest which follow are Sadness, Malice, Lust or (voluptuousness), Anger (or wrathfulness), Lying, Foolishness (or folly), Pride (or conceit), and Hatred. Those who carry these spirits shall see the kingdom of God, but not enter therein. Of the stones taken out of the deep and fitted to the building, the ten placed at the foundation are the first age,¹ the following twenty-five the second age, of righteous men.² The next thirty-four, the prophets and ministers of the Lord. The forty are the Apostles and doctors of the preaching of the Son of God. The reason why these were put into the building was because they carried those spirits even to the day of their death. These stones came up out of the deep, because 'it was necessary for them to ascend by water, that they might be at rest. For they could not otherwise enter into the kingdom of God, but by laying aside the mortality of their former life. They, therefore, being dead, were nevertheless sealed with the seal

¹ Called by Bunsen the Antediluvian patriarchs.

² After the Deluge, before the Law (vol. i. p. 205).

of the Son of God, and so entered into the kingdom of God. For before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is ordained unto death ; but when he receives that seal, he is freed from death, and assigned unto life. Now that seal is the water ' (of baptism, added by Wake), 'into which men go down under the obligation unto death, but come up appointed unto life. Wherefore to those also was this seal preached, and they made use of it, that they might enter into the kingdom of God. And I said, " Why then, sir, did these forty stones also ascend with them out of the deep, having already received that seal?" He answered, " Because these apostles and teachers, who preached the name of the Son of God, dying after they had received his faith and power, preached to them who were dead before ; and they gave their seal to them. They went down therefore into the water with them, and again came up. But these went down whilst they were alive, and came up again alive ; whereas those, who were before dead, went down dead, but came up alive"' (chap. xvi.). We have quoted the above passage, which is far from being clear, but it seems to contain the germ of the doctrine of *baptismal regeneration*—viz. that a man *ipso facto* has his sins forgiven when baptized—the formation of that external Church which gradually developed itself as the power of the clergy increased. Now, there is no evidence for such a doctrine in Holy Scripture ; even the baptism of infants is nowhere commanded, but has been established only from inference. With regard to adults, faith was required as necessary before baptism. " If thou believest with all thine heart,

thou mayest," was Philip's answer to the Ethiopian chamberlain;¹ and therefore baptism was the sign or seal that his sins were forgiven. Simon Magus was baptised, and yet he was told by Peter that he was in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity.² The twelve mountains signify twelve nations or peoples, which make up the whole world; to whom the gospel had been preached; and because they had believed they are represented as of one colour. Still some of them polluted themselves, and were cast off from the kind of the righteous, and became worse than they were before. By which is meant that those who have known the Lord are more guilty in sinning than he who has not his power. The angel then enters into a minute description of each mountain, corresponding with the various conditions, actions, and sins of professing Christians. There is so much resemblance between the description of these twelve mountains and that of the roads in the eighth similitude, that it would be tedious to dwell on them. We will therefore not trouble the reader with them. The shepherd finishes by commending the simplicity and innocence of little children, that Christians should be of a forgiving disposition, not cherishing malice or bitterness in their hearts. He charges the shepherds not to desert their flock, or else

¹ Acts viii. 37.

² *Ibid.* viii. 23. Bunsen has the following passage (vol. i. p. 215): 'Baptism is "the seal" instead of circumcision, but only by the renewal of the Spirit; the Apostles go down into the water with the catechuman, the old man who is spiritually dead; he rises with them as having in him the germ of new life.' All this is said in evident allusion to John iii. (Sim. ix. 16). It is not to be understood literally as a *descensus ad inferos*, either of Christ, or of the Apostles.

they will have to answer to the Lord. If they believed and hearkened to all that He had said, and should walk in these commandments, they should live; but if they continued in malice and remembrance of injuries, they should not live unto God.

In chap. xi. of this similitude there is a curious account of Hermas being entertained all night by virgins. This, with the passage already referred to in Vision II. chap. ii., where he is told his wife is to be as his sister, may have given rise to the idea of the *συνεῖσακτοι* (subintroductæ) in the second century, and countenanced by the Council of Elvira (A.D. 305), but which was condemned in the third canon of the First Council of Nice.¹

In chap. xxvii. the trees covering the cattle are represented to be the bishops and inferior ministers protecting their flocks. Bunsen thinks he sees clearly that the passages in chaps. xxvi. and xxviii., about the denying and confessing of our Saviour, refer to the persecution of the first year of Antoninus Pius.²

The *tenth* similitude treats of repentance and good works, still enjoining him to keep all these commands; but without the virgins he could not keep them.³ He therefore sent them to dwell with him, and charges him to keep his house pure, otherwise they would not remain with him.

¹ The words are: 'Vetuit omnino magna Synodus; ne liceat Episcopo, nec Presbytero, nec Diacono, nec ulli penitus eorum, qui sunt in clero extraneam habere mulierem; nisi forte aut matrem, aut sororem aut amitam, vel eas tantum personas quæ omnem suspicionem effugiunt. For further information, see Suicer's *Thesaurus*.

² See Bunsen's *Christianity*, vol. i. p. 206.

³ See Similitude ix. c. xv.

The author of this book must have had a lively imagination and have given way to flights of fancy, as the book is filled with allegory. Some parts are really good and well meant, others are mystical and require explanation and qualification ; others are practical and applicable to the Christian life ; others, again, seem almost useless and even downright silly. On the whole, we doubt very much whether this book was ever written by Hermas, but probably by some wellmeaning person who either believed he dreamt what he relates, or, being of a dreaming temperament, took this way of setting forth the contents of the book to make them more acceptable to the reader. Of its antiquity there can be no doubt, from its being quoted by the early Fathers ; and it is also manifest that it was read in the churches in early times, as being of Divine origin, if not Divine itself.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL FATHERS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

We have come to a time when the spread of Christianity was to be left to itself, and to the truth of those doctrines which our Saviour preached. It was to undergo a fiery trial from persecutions without and false doctrines within. Just as the converted Jew was not easily induced to give up all dependence upon the law for salvation and abandon those rites and ceremonies to which he had been accustomed from his earliest childhood, so we shall find that the learned Gentile or philosopher, when converted to Christianity, clung to many of those ideas of philosophy that had

grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength. It is especially to the Greek philosophy that we may look for many corrupt doctrines which were afterwards introduced into the Church. With these qualifications we are willing to admit the general truth of the following remark: 'The greater the distance from the fountain head, the greater the chance that the stream will be polluted. On these considerations is founded the persuasion which has generally prevailed, that in order to ascertain what was the doctrine taught by the Apostles, and what is the true interpretation of their writings, we ought to have recourse to the authority of those who lived nearest to their times.'¹ It is on this account that Justin Martyr has been highly esteemed, both by ancient and modern writers.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

Justin Martyr, a philosopher, was born in Flavia Neapolis (now called Nablous), a city of Palestine,² the ancient Sichem or Sichar, in the early part of the second century. Some make his birth as early as the year 100, others 114.³ We learn from himself that he had studied with the Stoics, the Peripatetics, Pythagoreans and Platonists, who all had their peculiar tenets.⁴ Of all these sects, he seems to have been most pleased with the Platonists,⁵ though he was not quite satisfied with any of them. He tells us he parted with the Stoic, because he could

¹ Bishop Kaye's *Justin Martyr* (Cambridge, 1822), p. 2.

² Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. c. i.

³ Tillemont makes it 103. See his *Mémoires* (Paris, 1701), vol. ii. art. ii. p. 346; and Clark's *Antenicensis Library*, vol. ii. p. 3.

⁴ *Dialog. with Tryph.* c. ii.

⁵ *Apol.* ii. c. xii.

learn no more of God from his teacher. He left the Peripatetic because 'a fee was demanded from him, that their intercourse might not be unprofitable; for this reason he thought his master was no philosopher at all. He was dismissed by the Pythagorean because he was ignorant of music, astronomy and geometry. After studying the doctrines of the Platonists, in which he made great progress, the perception of immaterial things quite overpowered him, and the contemplation of ideas furnished his mind with wings, so that in a little time he thought he had become wise, and stupidly expected forthwith to look upon God, for this was the end of Plato's philosophy.¹ What struck him most was that he saw Christians submit to death for the sake of the gospel, while no one was willing to die for philosophic principles. This was the cause of his conversion to Christianity.

'For I myself, too,' says he, 'when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure. For what sensual or intemperate man, or who that counts it good to feast on human flesh, could welcome death that he might be deprived of his enjoyments, and would not rather continue always the present life, and attempt to escape the observation of the rulers? and much less would he denounce himself when the consequence would be death.'²

¹ *Dialog. with Tryph.* c. ii. : Τοῦτο γὰρ τέλος τῆς Πλάτωνος φιλοσοφίας.

² *Apol.* ii, c. xii.

The works of Justin are very valuable, not only as those of the first Father whose writings have been handed down to us after the so-called Apostolic Fathers, but as showing the relations existing between heathens and Christians in his days. Those considered genuine are his two Apologies and his Discourse or Dialogue with Trypho. Some doubts have been thrown out as to Justin being the author of the Dialogue, but they are now considered to have little weight.¹ He has been accused of adhering to his former pursuits, by continuing to wear the philosopher's garb after he had become a Christian;² but perhaps it would be more charitable to think he did this on purpose to give him more influence in preaching the gospel. Others think he praises philosophy too highly; but if we examine into what he says, we shall find it was the true kind of philosophy of which he speaks, viz. Christian, and not that which St. Paul alluded to, when he was warning the church at Colosse.³ Tillemont will have it that Justin was ordained at least a priest,⁴ to which Neander properly objects in the following words: 'No such distinction was made, as yet, between clergy and laity, as renders it improbable that Justin expressed himself in this way on the

¹ See Neander's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 446, n. 1; also Introductory Notice to Clark's *Translation of the Antenicene Library*, vol. ii., and Semisch's *Justin Martyr* (Clark: Edinb. 1843), vol. i. p. 82.

² Kaye's *Justin Martyr*, p. 5; *Dialog. with Tryph.* c. i. ³ Col. ii. 8.

⁴ Tillemont in his *Mémoires* (Paris, 1701), vol. ii. p. 356, says, in speaking of Justin, when referring to the passage about Baptism: 'Il n'y a, ce semble, qu'un Évêque, ou au moins qu'un Prêtre, qui puisse parler de la sorte; et ainsi il est difficile de ne pas croire qu'il a tenu dans l'Église l'un ou l'autre rang.'

principle of the universal Christian priesthood. But whether he had been solemnly ordained, in the name of the church, to the office of an evangelist or not—a question of little importance—his gifts as a teacher would hardly be suffered to lie idle, when they could be so usefully employed, both in spreading the gospel among the heathen, and in giving instruction to the churches themselves.’¹

Justin bears testimony to the leading doctrines of Christianity, though he is not clear on man’s sinfulness by nature. Neither does he bring out clearly the necessity of faith, but mixes it up with baptism as an illuminating principle, which we shall afterwards see. He held that our Saviour, after the resurrection, would reign in Jerusalem after it was restored, with all the holy patriarchs, saints and martyrs, for a thousand years. He believed in an intermediate state for souls after death. It is generally admitted that he lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius,² and that he died a martyr in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, about the year 165.³

It would be foreign to our purpose to enter into a minute analysis of Justin’s Martyr’s works, but we shall notice the most important points bearing on the con-

¹ *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 446. Bunsen, in treating of Justin, says, in what Wordsworth would call his ‘oracular’ style: ‘As to his position in the Christian Church, he neither accepted any municipal honour (such as eldership), nor did he occupy the chair (Proedria) as bishop, but made himself useful by speaking and writing in defence of Christianity, whenever occasion offered, travelling about and holding disputations.’ (*Christianity*, vol. i. p. 217.)

² See *Apol.* i. c. i.

³ See *Chronicon Pascale*; also Lardner’s *Credibility*, vol. ii. p. 126.

fession of Christianity and the rise of the sacerdotal power.

First Apology.—This work differs from the writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers, inasmuch as they were addressed to professing Christians, whilst this is addressed to the heathen. In Justin's defence of Christianity he shows an intimate acquaintance with the Old Testament, and many books of the New, though his quotations are not always quite correct. Being also well versed in heathen mythology and the systems of philosophy then taught, he was well able to show how far Christianity excels heathenism, and how the best parts of the latter system had been borrowed from the Jews, whose religion was much older. He contends earnestly for justice to Christians, and that they should not be condemned without being heard.¹ He points out the innocence of their lives, and denies the false accusations that had been brought against them,² all which proves indirectly the fulfilment of our Saviour's words, "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake."³ He shows the purity of Christ's life and doctrine; and that his birth, work, death and resurrection, were all foretold by the Jewish prophets.⁴ The parts to which we particularly wish to draw the attention of the reader in the 'First Apology' are towards the end, where he explains the manner of performing the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and also the weekly assembling of Christians to worship on Sunday. In chap. lxi. he says:⁵ 'We will also

¹ *Apol.* i. cc. iii. and iv.

² *Cc.* v. vi. and vii.

³ *Matt.* xxiv. 9.

⁴ *Cc.* xv. xvii. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii. xl. xli. xlv.

⁵ The text copied is from Clark's *Translation* (Edinb. 1867).

relate the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God, when we had been made new through Christ ; lest, if we omit this, we seem to be unfair in the explanation we are making. As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For in the name of God the Father and Lord of the Universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. Then, after referring to the passage of St. John (iii. 5), "Except ye be born again," &c., and that of Isaiah (i. 16-20), "Wash you, make you clean," &c., he goes on to say, 'And for this (rite) we have learned from the Apostles this reason. Since at our birth we were born without our own knowledge or choice, by our parents coming together, and were brought up in bad habits and wicked training, in order that we might not remain the children of necessity and of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water the remission of sins formerly committed, there is pronounced over him who chooses to be born again, and has repented of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of the Universe ; he who leads to the laver the person that is to be washed calling him by this name alone. For no one can utter the ineffable name of God ; and if anyone dare to say that there is

a name, he raves with a hopeless madness. And this washing is called illumination, because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings. And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus, he who is illuminated is washed.' We would call the attention of the reader to the beginning of the chapter in these words : ' We will also relate the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God when we had been made new through Christ.' This passage is very different in Chevalier's ' Translation ' (chapter¹ lxxix. p. 215) : ' We will state also in what manner we are created anew by Christ, and have dedicated ourselves to God,' making baptism the means of ' creating anew ; ' which we conceive to be very different from Justin's meaning. We give the text both in Greek and Latin : *ὁν τρόπον δὲ καὶ ἀνεθήκαμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ καινοποιθéntες διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξηγησόμεθα*² ' Quomodo autem nos Deo consecraverimus, per Christum renovati, id quoque exponemus.'

Now this doctrine of baptism is of the utmost consequence, as being the foundation on which all the sacerdotal theory rests ; and is only second in importance to that of the Eucharist, or sacrifice held by the Ritualists. If by the text we are here to understand that Christians are renewed (*καινοποιθéntες*) by faith before baptism, and that by baptism they are

¹ Chevalier's chapters differ from the common text.

² This text is the same in Migne and Troloppe's corrected text (Cambridge, 1845).

admitted as members into the Church, and that the water is the sign or symbol of purification, we admit this to be a scriptural doctrine; just as when the jailor at Philippi asked Paul and Silas, "What must I do to be saved?" he received for answer, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house,"¹ and he was afterwards baptised. So also with regard to the Ethiopian eunuch in answer to the question, "What doth hinder me to be baptised?" Philip replied, "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest;"² plainly showing that faith was absolutely necessary as a principle for being baptised. But there gradually arose in the Church an external way of making a Christian, which ended in the Romish doctrine of the *opus operatum*, entirely contrary to the teaching of Holy Scripture. We would notice the words towards the end of the chapter: 'Since at our birth we were born without our own knowledge or choice, by our parents coming together, and were brought up in bad habits and wicked training, in order that we may not remain the children of necessity and of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge,' &c. There is here either a want of knowledge of original sin, or great confusion in the mind of the writer on the subject. A little lower down, we find the same confusion of ideas regarding baptism in the expressions, 'And this washing is called illumination' (φωτισμός), and, farther on, 'He who is illuminated is washed;' the first indicating that 'illumination' took place at baptism, and the second before

¹ Acts xvi. 30-33.

² *Ibid.* viii. 36, 37.

baptism, which is a complete contradiction in terms. In Suicer's 'Thesaurus,' we have on the words *φώτισμα* and *φωτισμὸς* the following note :—' Hæc voces notant spiritualement illuminationem mentis, et institutionem in rebus divinis, quæ baptismum præcedit, prorsus est *φωτίζω*. Vide sub isto verbo, num. ii., S. Maximus, in cap. iii. Dionysii Areopagitæ de Cæl. Hierarch. p. 14: *Σημειῶσαι ὅτι τὸ φῶτισμα πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*. Nota, quod illuminatio præcedat baptismum,' &c. &c. There is not the least doubt that this is the true meaning of these words, viz. the illumination that takes place before baptism by God's Holy Spirit, which by degrees came to signify baptism itself. So that men were led to believe that the illumination took place at baptism, as may be clearly seen from other passages quoted by Suicer. In course of time the teaching and illumination of the Holy Spirit became confounded with the ceremony itself, or the *opus operatum*. Thus we see there was a change of cause and effect: instead of baptism being the consequence of faith, it became the cause; and so we find it treated by Bingham. In vol. iv. of his works, lib. xi. c. i. § 2, we read: 'From one of its noblest effects, it was sometimes called *indulgentia*, *indulgence*, or *absolution and remission of sins*.' In proof of this, he quotes for his authority an African council under Cyprian, and also the 'Apostolic Constitutions;' but we must bear in mind that Cyprian was by no means deficient in a hierarchical spirit, and the 'Apostolic Constitutions' were a forgery. It is of consequence in discussing this question to remember that it is only adult baptism that is spoken of; we do not at present

even allude to infant baptism. No doubt this doctrine, so altered from the original teaching, must have been very pleasing and satisfactory to the sacerdotal spirit that was arising in the Church ; and so we find that for some time this power was kept in the hands of the bishop ; then, again, it was only done with his consent, whilst, as we find in Tertullian, *laymen* might baptise, but only when the clergy were not to be found.¹ It is one of the doctrines of the Romish Church that *lay baptism* is valid. There have been, however, we believe, in all ages of the Church some who have clung to the original and scriptural view of this rite, and therefore we are not surprised to find Bingham qualifying this doctrine of the *opus operatum*, and quoting St. Austin as his authority. ‘But forasmuch,’ says he, ‘as absolution or remission of sins may not always necessarily accompany baptism, through some default in the administrator or the receiver, though the baptism be otherwise a true baptism, therefore St. Austin,² in disputing with the Donatists, chooses to call it “the sacrament of grace” and “the sacrament of absolution,” rather than grace or absolution itself; because wicked men may receive the sacrament of baptism, but they cannot receive the grace of baptism, which is absolution or remission of sins, for God grants that to none but those that turn to Him with a sincere faith and true repentance. Whenever, therefore, the ancients call baptism by the name of *absolution* or *indulgence*, they are to be understood with this limitation, that it is so only to those who are worthy receivers of it.’

¹ *De Baptismo*, cap. xvii.

² *Ibid.* lib. v. c. xxi. (t. 9, p. 155, g.).

Whilst we regret the multiplying of names for the simple rite of baptism instituted by our Saviour, which only tends to darken men's minds by adding words without knowledge, we are ready to admit that the above qualification of Bingham reduces the doctrine very much to the scriptural view of it, viz. that without faith and repentance, all the *opus operatum* in the world will profit nothing. It seems strange to notice the same sort of confusion in Bingham's mind that appears to have existed in Justin's. He goes on to say: 'Another noble effect of baptism was *regeneration, illumination* (referring to the passage in Justin already quoted), *eternal salvation*. Then it was called *mysterium, sacramentum, σφραγίς*, signaculum (seal of the Lord), viaticum,¹ &c. &c.

We return again to Justin. In chapter lxxv. he goes on to say: 'But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptised (illuminated) person, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our own works also, to be found good citizens, and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation. Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine

¹ Vol. iv. c. xi. pp. 3-14, where the subject is treated at large.

mixed with water ; and he, taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at his hands. And when he has concluded the prayer and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying, Amen. This word Amen answers in the Hebrew language to *γένοιτο* (so be it). And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion.' We have given this chapter in full, as it is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, account extant of the mode of celebrating the Communion. Before we go on to the next chapter, which treats of the same subject, we would observe that the word *φιλήματι* (kiss) is no doubt what St. Paul speaks of in his epistles,¹ which custom was continued for several centuries, and afterwards abolished. Troloppe, in his corrected text of Justin's works, says it was not interchanged between persons of different sexes, but that vestiges of the custom are found as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ;² whilst Dean Stanley declares that it still exists in the Coptic Church.³ The word *προεστῶτι* ⁴ (president of the brethren), which occurs

¹ Romans xvi. 16 ; 1 Cor. xvi. 20 ; 2 Cor. xiii. 12 ; 1 Thess. v. 26.

² See p. 126, n. 7 (Cambridge, 1845).

³ See Stanley on *Cor.* vol. i. p. 414.

⁴ It is from this word or the Latin *præstes*, as we have seen, that some think our word *priest* is derived.

also in chap. lxvii., may signify the presiding presbyter or bishop. Migne, in a note on this passage, says the duties alluded to belonged both to presbyter and bishop, but that Justin says nothing of confirmation, because the bishops alone gave it; ¹ whereas we believe the truth to be, that confirmation, as a rite, had not yet been adopted, as there is no account of it. From the first part of this chapter, we learn that faith was necessary before baptism, and that it was not the custom to receive the Lord's Supper till they were baptised; and from the end of it, we learn that it was the part of the deacons to distribute the elements. In the expression, 'A cup of wine mixed with water,' we see that this, at all events, was an early custom.² Whether the wine our Saviour drank was mixed with water or not, we are not informed. It is the custom of people in the East and in all hot climates at their meals to mix water with their wine, but we are inclined to think this a matter of very little consequence. It was, however, decided by the Third Council of Carthage, C. 24, that the wine should be mixed with water, and the same custom obtains still in the Roman Church. In discussing this question, Chevalier says: ³ 'In our present rubric, although the mixture of water with wine is not enjoined, it is not prohibited.' This may be true; but it is well known that the mixing of water and wine at the Communion has been discontinued since the Reformation; and

¹ *Patrol.* p. 430, n. 91.

² This was a doubtful question, which Cyprian afterwards professed to solve by revelation, viz. that water should be mingled with wine, *Ep.* lxiii. vol. i. p. 209.

³ Page 221, n. 2.

since the above note was written, it has been decided by the highest tribunal in the country, viz. the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, 1868, that the practice is not lawful.¹ From the expression at the end of this chapter, 'Those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion,' we learn, first, that the deacons distributed the elements; secondly, that all communicants partook in both kinds;² thirdly, that it was the custom in these days to carry away a portion of the elements to those absent. Before leaving this chapter, we cannot but notice the simple expression, when speaking of the bread and wine, 'Over which the thanksgiving was pronounced,' so much in harmony with the scriptural account of it. There is nothing here about sacrifice or changing the elements into the real or spiritual body or blood of Christ, the former held by Romanists and the latter by Ritualists of the present day, though they do profess to find some ground for such belief in the next chapter (lxvi.), which we now give nearly entire: 'And this food is called among us *Εὐχαριστία* (the Eucharist), of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the

¹ This has been confirmed by the judgment of the Privy Council in the appeal of *Herbert versus Purchas* (1871), when it was ruled that it is illegal to mix the wine and water before as well as at the Communion.

² Nor was the custom ever varied till the twelfth century, when the cup was gradually withdrawn from the people in the Western Church. (Troppe's *Justin Martyr's Corrected Text*, p. 127, n. 19.)

remission of sins and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these, but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of his Word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the Apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them: that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, "This do ye in remembrance of me; this is my body;"¹ and that after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, "This is my blood," and gave it to them alone.'

The word *Εὐχαριστία* (giving of thanks), as we have seen, was adopted after the example of our Saviour at the institution of the Sacrament, when He gave thanks;² and partly also, as we may say, *par excellence* for the celebration of the Holy Communion; this being the greatest cause for our gratitude to God, viz. Christ's dying for our sins. We notice in the beginning of this chapter three things necessary for taking the Communion, which we doubt not every true Christian will think are as necessary now, for partaking profitably, as they were then, viz. faith in the doctrines of Christianity; secondly, to have been baptised; and thirdly, that a man must live as Christ has enjoined. The passage, 'For

¹ Luke xxii. 19.

² Matt. xxvi. 27; Mark xiv. 23; Luke xxii. 19, &c.

not as common bread,' &c. down to 'Who was made flesh,' has given rise to great discussion among theologians, and has been claimed alike by Romanists, Lutherans, and Calvinists, in support of their own views. There is no doubt a great confusion, or want of clearness, in the expression, 'Jesus Christ having been made flesh by the Word of God,' and is justly found fault with by Bishop Kaye. He says,¹ 'This has a strange sound. We should rather expect to find it said that Jesus Christ was the Word made flesh, ὁ Λόγος σαρκοποιηθεὶς, as in p. 74 B.' Both Bishop Kaye and Troloppe agree in thinking that Bellarmine and Nourry have no support here for their doctrine of Transubstantiation, but that Justin's testimony might be more plausibly urged in favour of Consubstantiation, though they think there is no ground for this. Troloppe thinks that as Justin asserts that as the elements are not received as *common bread and wine*, therefore it may be argued, from what Justin further says, that Christ is really present. This doctrine of Consubstantiation, or the *real presence*, we have always thought the most illogical, incomprehensible, and unphilosophical of the whole three. The Romanists, we think wisely for their argument, come back to the expression of our Saviour, '*Hoc est corpus meum.*' Everything depends upon the meaning of these words, which are either literally or figuratively true. If they are literally true, then He taught us that this is the greatest of all the miracles that ever were wrought. When our Saviour wrought miracles, He put

¹ See his *Justin Martyr*, p. 86, n. 6.

his proof to the test by the evidence of the senses : for instance, the turning water into wine, healing the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, raising the dead, &c. ; but in this he makes us disbelieve our senses. It would be far easier, in our opinion, to believe that Christ's body was changed into bread and wine, than that the bread and wine are changed into Christ's body. It is by maintaining such false doctrines that the Romanists make dupes and devotees of weak-minded men and women, and drive the more deeply thinking into rationalism and infidelity. Justin seems to have left this doctrine very much as he found it. That he believed the bread and wine to be merely figurative emblems of the body and blood of Christ is manifest from some passages in his ' Dialogue with Trypho.' ¹

We quote nearly the whole of chapter lxxvii :—
 'The wealthy among us help the needy; and we always keep together; and for all things wherewith we are supplied, we bless the Maker of all through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts

¹ Cc. xli. and lxx. After referring to these chapters, Bishop Kaye (p. 93) says: 'In a subsequent passage, he applies to them the expression, "dry and liquid food." We may therefore conclude that, when he calls them the body and blood of Christ, he speaks figuratively. He applies the word *θυσία* to the Eucharist, or rather to the thanksgiving and prayers which were offered up during the celebration of the rite; for he allows of none but spiritual sacrifices under the Christian dispensation.'

to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray; and as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying, Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and, in a word, takes care of all who are in need. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For He was crucified on the day before that of Saturn (Saturday); and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, having appeared to his Apostles and disciples, He taught them these things, which we have submitted to you also for your consideration.'

We have here one of the earliest intimations of the assembling of Christians on the first day of the week, called Sunday (τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ), and the reason why; and a description of the service and the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper. The words ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ are translated in Clark's edition, ' Accord-

ing to his ability,' but by Chevalier, 'With his utmost power.' The Latin text has 'totis viribus;' and lest any ground should be given to an extempore prayer, Migne says, in a note (§ 9 p. 430), 'Non favent hæc verba his qui ratas et fixas ecclesiæ preces impugnant.' We think the rendering of Clark is the correct one. We learn, lastly, from this chapter, that it was the custom in the early days of Christianity for the rich to administer to the wants of the poor, and that a collection was made for them. Justin finishes his 'First Apology' by asking justice from the emperor, as he would one day have to stand before the judgment-seat of God.

We pass over *Tatian*, who was accused of heresy by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius and others. *Athenagoras* and *Theophilus of Antioch* about this time were also distinguished for defending the Christian religion; but as their writings contain nothing of a hierarchical tendency, we will not delay to notice them, but go on to treat of Irenæus.

ST. IRENÆUS.

Irenæus, not like many of the Fathers who were heathens converted, is supposed to have been a Christian from his early days, and a disciple of Polycarp. He was bishop of Lyons (Gaul). The time of his birth is uncertain, but in all probability it was in the early part of the second century.¹ It is believed he was appointed bishop about 174, some say 177, and that he died about

¹ See Lardner's *Credibility*, v. ii. p. 165, who quotes from Eusebius, Tertullian, St. Jerome, and Photius.

202—St. Jerome says a martyr, but this is doubted, as Tertullian, Eusebius, and others make no mention of it.¹ His work against Heresies is one of the most valuable documents that exist of the early Fathers, and bears strong testimony to a great part of the New Testament. ‘We have, then, in Irenæus,’ says Lardner, ‘full and express, and abundant testimony to the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, twelve of Paul’s epistles. The omission of the Epistle to Philemon may be well ascribed to its brevity. He knew the Epistle to the Hebrews, but was not satisfied that it was Paul’s. As for the catholic epistles, we have express quotations of the first of Peter, and the first and second of John ; and the reason of not quoting the third may be well allowed to be its brevity. But to the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, and the Epistle of Jude, there are none or very obscure references, hardly any that can be reckoned material. Nevertheless, on account of a general passage concerning the writings of the Apostles, it may be questioned whether he did not also know the epistles of James and Jude. The Book of the Revelation is expressly ascribed to John the disciple of the Lord. This testimony for this book is so strong and full, that considering the age of Irenæus, he seems to put it beyond all question that it is the work of John the apostle and evangelist.’²

Irenæus quotes from Clement of Rome, Hermas, Polycarp, Papias, and Justin Martyr, but he makes no quotation from Ignatius.³

¹ See Dodwell, Cave, and others.

² Lardner’s *Credibility*, vol. ii. p. 182.

³ Is not this another reason for doubting the authenticity of the epistles ascribed to Ignatius?

St. Irenæus against Heresies.—This is the great work of Irenæus, and, indeed, the only one that has come down to us, with the exception of some fragments. It is chiefly against the sect called the Gnostics. It has been translated for the first time into English, and published in vol. v. of Clark's Antenicene Library. The Greek text was lost, and the treatise has come down to us in barbarous Latin.¹ Dodwell thinks this Latin version was made in the fourth century, but, as has been justly observed in the Introduction to the 'Translation,' as Tertullian seems to have used it, it must have been made in the early part of the third century. This treatise is divided into five books. We quote a part of chap. lx. of book i. to show that already the principal points of what is called the Apostles' Creed were received.

'The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the Apostles and their disciples this faith: (She believes) in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them; and in one Christ Jesus,² the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations of God,³ and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven in the flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord, and his

¹ From quotations by Hippolytus and Epiphanius, a considerable part of the first book has been preserved in the Greek, but both the Greek and Latin texts are often very obscure.

² 'Christum Jesum,' the Greek order, is restored on the faith of the Arundel MS. Harvey's *Irenæus* (Cambridge, 1857), vol. i. p. 90, n. 4.

³ 'Of God' does not exist in the Greek text.

(future) manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father, "to gather all things in one,"¹ and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Jesus Christ, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the will of the invisible Father, "every knee should bow, of things in heaven; and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess"² to Him, and that He should execute just judgment towards all; and that He may send "spiritual wickedness"³ and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, together with the ungodly, and unrighteous, and wicked, and profane among men, into everlasting fire; but may, in the exercise of his grace, confer immortality on the righteous and holy, and those who have kept his commandments, and have persevered in his love, some from the beginning (of their Christian course), and others from (the date of) their repentance, and may surround them with everlasting glory.⁴ We may infer from the above that the Apostles' Creed was not handed down to us in the very words, but only contains the doctrines they taught. We would also draw the attention of the reader to the expressions regarding the wicked 'into everlasting fire' (*εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ*), and regarding the righteous 'everlasting glory' (*δόξαν αἰωνίαν*), the same expression being used. The evidence of Irenæus is valuable, as showing that they believed in those early days in everlasting punishment and everlasting happiness, the former of which is denied by

¹ Eph. i. x.² Phil. ii. 10, 11.³ Eph. vi. 12.⁴ This quotation is from Clark's *Translation* (Edinb. 1868).

some of the present generation, but we think they must both stand or fall together.

We will now give all the passages from Irenæus regarding baptism. In speaking of the heretics, he says: 'And when we come to refute them we shall show, in its fitting place, that this class of men have been instigated by Satan to a denial of that baptism which is regeneration to God, and thus to a renunciation of the whole (Christian) faith,' lib. i. c. xxi. § 1. 'For He came to save all through means of Himself, all, I say, who through Him are born again to God, infants and children, and boys, and youths, and old men,' lib. ii. c. xxii. § 4. 'And again, giving to the disciples the power of regeneration into God, He said to them, "Go and teach (make disciples of) all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,"' lib. iii. c. xvii. § 1. 'For as a compacted lump of dough cannot be formed of dry wheat without fluid matter, nor can a loaf possess unity, so in like manner neither could we, being many, be made one in Christ Jesus without the water from Heaven. And as dry earth does not bring forth unless it receive moisture, in like manner we also, being originally a dry tree, could never have brought forth fruit unto life, without the voluntary rain from above. For our bodies have received unity among themselves by means of that laver which leads to incorruption; but our souls by means of the Spirit,' lib. iii. c. xvii. § 2. 'And since in that formation, which was after Adam, man being made in sin required the laver of regeneration,' lib. v. c. vi. § 1. In treating of

baptism, as spoken of by Justin Martyr, we have fully expressed our ideas on that subject. We may here remark that we have in the above a confounding of regeneration by faith and the external office as performed by the Church. The Greek text is τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως: 'Of that baptism which is regeneration to God.'¹ Here there is no mention made of faith whatever, though we are unwilling to believe that Irenæus held that baptism without faith could be regeneration to God. The second passage quoted is of great value, as showing the custom of baptising infants in those days. The expression is, 'Who through Him (Christ) are born again to God (renascuntur in Deum), infants and children,'² &c. There is no doubt, when compared with other passages in which the same expression is used, that it refers to baptism. This is the first reference to the baptism of infants we have met with in the Fathers. It is impossible to prove this doctrine directly from Scripture; it is only by inference, from such passages as the following, "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven;"³ "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,"⁴ &c. And because we believe that baptism took the place of circumcision; the former being the introduction to the Jewish Church, the latter

¹ Harvey, in a note to this passage says: 'Irenæus evidently knew no distinction between baptismal regeneration and the ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατέλθοντος.'—Harvey's *Irenæus* (Cambridge, 1857), vol. i. p. 181, n. 1.

² See also Harvey, Wall, Beaven and others, on this passage.

³ Matt. xix. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* xviii. 3.

to the Christian. Still we are told that "he is not a Jew who is one outwardly,"¹ by which we may learn that baptism will profit us nothing if we are not renewed by the Spirit of God, which is called "the circumcision of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter."² This is no doubt what Irenæus means by the 'water from Heaven' and 'the rain from above.'³ It is by this Spirit alone that we are enabled to believe in Christ, and thus to become the sons of God and obedient children, as Irenæus says: 'Non omnes filii Dei sunt, sed qui credunt ei, et faciunt ejus voluntatem; qui autem non credunt et non faciunt ejus voluntatem filii et angeli sunt diaboli.'⁴

Irenæus, in the following passage, bears testimony to the succession of bishops from the Apostles: 'Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem, per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes,'⁵ &c.

'But, since it would be very tedious, in such a volume

¹ Rom. ii. 28.

² *Ibid.* ii. 29.

³ Neander, in treating on baptism and referring to this passage, says: 'As the essential character of the invisible and that of the visible Church were not carefully discriminated, a little confusion of the Divine thing and its outward sign must, from the same cause, take place in respect to the doctrine of the sacraments. This, in the case of *baptism*, is shown in the prevailing notion of a Divine power which was imparted to the water, and of a sensible union, brought about by means of it, with the whole nature of Christ, for the deliverance of the entire spiritual and material nature of man.'—*Hist. of Christ. Relig.* vol. ii. p. 423.

⁴ Lib. iv. c. xli. § 2.

⁵ Lib. iii. c. iii. § 2.

as this, to reckon up the successions of all the churches, of the very great, very ancient, and universally known church founded and organised at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul,¹ as also the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by means of the successions of the bishops,' &c.

Again, 'Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorē principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est eos, qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.'² 'For it is a matter of necessity that every church should agree with this church, on account of its pre-eminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those (faithful men) who exist everywhere.'³ Romanists have taken advantage of this passage to contend for the pre-eminence of the Church of Rome all over the world, but we think that naturally, Rome being the capital of the Roman Empire, the bishops being powerful from their opulence and influence, he spoke of it as the *Ecclesia Apostolica* of

¹ The Clerm. and Vass. MSS. have 'Paulo et Petro,' which we very much prefer, as we hear so much in Scripture of Paul being in Rome, and nothing of Peter.

² Lib. iii. c. iii. § 2.

³ Several words in this passage have given rise to great discussion. First, the word *potentiorē* in the Clermont MS. is *potiorē*. Steeren translates the passage by 'wegen ihrer hinreichenden, tüchtigen, ansehnlichen Alterthümlichkeit, Ursprünglichkeit.' Some translate *convenire* by *agree*, others would have it to signify *resort*. The word *undique* by some is confined to the neighbourhood of Rome, others, and especially the Romanists, extend it to the whole Christian Church. See Massuet (Migne's *Patrol. Curs.*), Griesbach, Harvey, and Beaven, who discuss this passage; also Dr. Wordsworth's *St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, c. xii.

the West, to which men might resort when in doubt, as they would naturally, in the East, go either to Smyrna or Constantinople, or any other ancient church.¹ Neander doubts whether the church at Rome was the oldest, but there is no necessity for this objection, as the word *antiquissimæ* may be translated *very old*, which it certainly was.² Irenæus next goes on (§ 3) to enumerate the bishops of Rome, making Linus the first and Clement the third, stating that Clement had seen the Apostles, and that the church in Rome had written an epistle to the Corinthian church, which he calls a most powerful epistle (*ικανωτάτην γραφήν*). He then states (§ 4), after enumerating other bishops of Rome till his time, that Polycarp was not only instructed by apostles, but appointed bishop of the church in Smyrna by them; that he had seen Polycarp, who lived to be a very old man, and suffered martyrdom. He also affirms that Polycarp wrote a very powerful epistle to the Philippians, using the same word *ικανωτάτη* as before, when speaking of the Epistle to the Corinthians, from the church at Rome.³ He testifies to the church

¹ That this is the true meaning may be inferred from the following passage: 'Suppose there arise a dispute relative to some important question among us, should we not have recourse to the most ancient churches with which the Apostles held constant intercourse, and learn from them what is certain and clear in regard to the present question? For how should it be if the Apostles themselves had not left us writings? Would it not be necessary (in that case) to follow the course of tradition which they handed down to those to whom they did commit the churches?'—Lib. iii. c. iv. § i.

² *Church History*, vol. i. p. 278.

³ The Latin version is *perfectissima*. Rufinus has *pervalida*, Langus Nicephori *longissima*, Christopherson *accurate scripta*, Valesius *luculentissima*, and Stroth, in its use to the Corinthian Church, 'einer sehr gründlichen Brief.'

in Ephesus having been founded by St. Paul, and that John remained amongst them permanently till the time of Trajan. Irenæus bears witness to the Septuagint version having been made by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. He moreover adds that Ptolemy, fearing lest the seventy elders 'might perchance, by taking counsel together, conceal the truth in the Scriptures, by their interpretation, separated them from each other, and commanded them all to write the same translation. He did this with respect to all the books. But when they came together in the same place before Ptolemy, and each of them compared his own interpretation with that of every other, God was indeed glorified, and the Scriptures were acknowledged as truly Divine; for all of them read out the common translation (which they had prepared in the very same words, and the very same names, from beginning to end, so that even the Gentiles present perceived that the Scriptures had been interpreted by the inspiration of God.'¹ He says (§ 3), that the Apostles Peter, John, Matthew, Paul, and the rest, successively quoted the prophets out of the Septuagint version.² The opinion of Irenæus regarding the Church may be gathered from the following passages: 'For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and every kind of grace; but the Spirit is

¹ Lib. iii. c. xxi. § 2. It is not improbable that the latter part of this story was believed by the people in the time of Irenæus, but we may be allowed to question its veracity, and it makes us rather sceptical about other points related by him.

² Lib. iii. c. xxi. § 3.

truth.' Now if we are to take the Church for true believers, we have no hesitation in agreeing with the above; but if by it is meant the external body composed of bishops, presbyters and deacons, then we differ from him.¹ Again, he goes on to say: 'Those, therefore, who do not partake of Him, are neither nourished into life from the mothers' breasts, nor do they enjoy that most limpid fountain which issues from the body of Christ.'² The following is beautiful, as showing the difference between the Jewish and Christian economy, which Irenæus well understood: 'They (the Jews) had indeed the tithes of their goods consecrated to Him, but those who have liberty set aside all their possessions for the Lord's purposes, bestowing joyfully and freely not the less valuable portions of their property, since they have hope of better things (hereafter); as that poor widow acted, who cast in all her living into the treasury of God.'³ The reader will judge for himself, from the following quotations, the opinions of Irenæus concerning the Lord's Supper. 'When reasoning against the heretics, he says: 'How can they say that the flesh, which is nourished with the body of the Lord

¹ In treating of confounding the outward or visible with the inward or invisible church, Neander says: 'This association of the Christian consciousness we may perceive already in a writer as early as Irenæus, who defines, in the first place, the conception of the Church subsisting under this determinate form of constitution, and then puts down the communion of the Holy Spirit as something first derived from, and mediated by the former, when he begins by saying, "*Ubi ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei*," and then adds, "*et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia*." An entirely different apprehension of the idea of the Church and its necessary unity would have presented itself by reversing the order of these propositions.'—Vol. i. p. 284.

² Lib. iii. c. xxiv. § 1.

³ Luke xxi. 4; lib. iv. c. xviii. § 2.

and with his blood, goes to corruption, and does not partake of life? Let them therefore either alter their opinion or cease from offering the things just mentioned. But our opinion is in accordance with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn establishes our opinion. For we offer to Him his own,¹ announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and spirit.² For as the bread which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity.³ We have seen that the word *πρόσφορα*, oblatio (offering), was gradually applied to the bread and wine; then they were called the Eucharist (*εὐχαριστία*); and lastly, we shall see they took the name of sacrifice (*θυσία*). So gradual was the change that it seems almost imperceptible. The great declension of the Church seems to have been the attributing of some peculiar effect to water in baptism, and to the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, that was never intended, and gradually losing sight of the necessity of faith, to the profitable use both of the one and the other. In the above quotation, 'When it receives the invocation

¹ Creatures (*τὰ ἰδία*).

² There is a difference here between the Latin and the Greek text, the words *καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες . . . ἐγερσιν* not being in the former. Massuet has the following note on this passage: 'Aut hæc verba non reddit interpres, aut reddita scribæ omiserunt. Suspecta Græbio videntur, mihi genuina,' &c. Harvey agrees with Græbe in considering this an interpolation.

³ Lib. iv. c. xviii. § 5.

of God, is no longer common bread,' &c.; and again, 'So also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible,' which is qualified by the next clause, 'having the hope of the resurrection to eternity,' these expressions would naturally give rise to the idea that there was some mysterious change operated upon the elements, whereas it is the spirit in which the elements are received which makes the change, the true Eucharist being a thankful heart, or as it is expressed in our Prayer Book, 'Feeding on Christ by faith, with thanksgiving.' Again, Irenæus says: 'Since we are his members, and are nourished by the creature, and He himself gives us the creature, making his sun to rise, and sending rain as it pleaseth Him, He has recognised the cup of the creature for his own blood, with which He tinges (δέυσι)¹ our blood, and the bread of the creature He has ordained to be his own body, by which He strengthens our body. Since, therefore, both the mingled cup and the created bread receive the Word of God, and the Eucharist becomes the (blood² and) body of Christ, and by these the substance of our flesh gains strength and subsists, how can they say that the flesh is not capable of the gift of God, which is eternal life, when it is nourished by the body and blood of the Lord, and is his member? As St. Paul saith: "For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones;" not saying these things of some spiritual

¹ The Latin text is *auget*, but in Clark's *Translation* it is *bedews*.

² This translation is taken from Beaven's *Life and Writings of Irenæus* (London, 1841), p. 179, which is rather free; the word *blood* is not in the original Greek text.

and invisible man (for the Spirit has neither flesh nor bones), but concerning the Divine work in the real man, consisting of flesh, and veins, and bones ; which is also nourished from his cup, which is his blood, and is strengthened by the bread, which is his body.’¹ Now it is not to be wondered at that those who contend for the sacerdotal view of God’s ministers should eagerly lay hold of a passage like the above, to prove that the bread and wine are changed into the real body of our Lord, as Massuet and others have done ; and we are ready to confess that, when taken by itself, it might have this colouring. But we should never forget that we must compare it with other passages, such as chap. xvii. of book iv., where he argues that the Jewish ceremonies and sacrifices were to be done away, and a pure spiritual offering or sacrifice was to take their place. If there is any doubt on this subject, we would refer to an expression which he uses elsewhere. In speaking of the bread after invoking God’s blessing upon it, he says : ‘ It is no longer common bread.’² Surely he never would have said this if it had been changed into the body of our Saviour ; but it is still bread, though consecrated for a holy purpose. We should ever bear in mind that the Fathers were not inspired, neither had they always clear ideas upon all subjects, especially on those which are sometimes above man’s comprehension, but often expressed themselves in an unguarded and slovenly manner, and even apparently contradictory. We quote the whole of the

¹ Lib. v. c. ii. §§ 2 and 3.

² Lib. iv. c. xviii. § 5.

thirty-seventh fragment,¹ which, with three others, were discovered in the Royal Library at Turin, in 1715, by Pfaff, to show that Irenæus believed neither in transubstantiation nor consubstantiation, but in a simple pure and spiritual offering: ‘Those who have become acquainted with the secondary (i.e. under Christ) constitutions of the Apostles, are aware that the Lord instituted a new oblation in the new covenant according to (the declaration) of Malachi the prophet. For “from the rising of the sun, even to the setting, my name has been glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure sacrifice;”² as John also declares in the Apocalypse, “The incense is the prayers of the saints.”³ Then, again, Paul exhorts us to “present our bodies a living sacrifice, truly acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.”⁴ And again, “Let us offer the sacrifice of praise, that is, the fruits of the lips.”⁵ Now these oblations are not according to the law, “the handwriting of which the Lord took away from the midst by cancelling it;”⁶ but they are according to the Spirit, for we must worship God “in spirit and in truth.”⁷ And therefore the oblation of the Eucharist *is not a carnal one, but a spiritual*; and in this respect it is pure. For we make an oblation to God of the bread and the cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our

¹ This fragment, in Harvey's *Irenæus*, is number 36.

² Mal. i. 11.

⁴ Rom. xii. i.

⁶ Col. ii. 14.

³ Rev. v. 8.

⁵ Heb. xiii. 15.

⁷ John iv. 24.

nourishment. And then, when we have perfected the oblation, we invoke the Holy Spirit, that we may exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread and the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and life eternal.¹ Those persons, then, who perform these oblations in remembrance of the Lord, do not fall in with Jewish views, but, performing the service after a spiritual manner, they shall be called sons of wisdom.' Whilst we admit that the language of the Fathers is very often obscure, confused and even objectionable, and that in this fragment we have all the three words *εὐχαριστία*, *πρόσφορα* and *θυσία* applied to the Lord's Supper, not one of which is to be found in that sense in the New Testament, still we maintain they did not hold either a real or corporeal presence further than is expressed in Sacred Scripture—"Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."² In the above passage Irenæus shows us that the incense spoken of by St. John "is the prayers of the saints," that the true sacrifice is "to present our bodies a living sacrifice, truly acceptable unto God;" that we are to "offer the sacrifice of praise, that is, the fruit of the lips;" that these oblations are according to the Spirit, and offered "in spirit and in

¹ In a note on this passage Harvey draws a parallel between the Anglican Liturgy and those of the Primitive Church. He says: 'The Church prays that by a true reception of the Body and Blood of Christ we may receive *Remission of sins and all other benefits of his Passion*: ἵνα γίνηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἀγιασμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, εἰς καρποφορίαν ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.' —*Lit. Jacob.* (See the whole note, which is valuable, vol. ii. p. 503, n. 14.)

² Matt. xviii. 20.

truth." Then he adds, 'Therefore the oblation of the Eucharist is not a carnal one, but a spiritual; and in this respect it is pure.'¹

To anyone who believes in transubstantiation, the oblation must be carnal, and not spiritual. We admit that Irenæus applies the word sacrifice (*θυσία*) to the bread and wine, but then it is in a spiritual sense, as is manifest from the context, for he immediately adds, 'that the receivers of these antitypes (*ἀντιτύπων*) may obtain remission of sins and life eternal,' thus showing that the bread and wine were but figures or emblems of the body and blood of Christ.²

We give some passages from Irenæus to show how he valued Holy Scripture. In showing the proper mode of using Scripture, he says: 'Since, therefore, the entire Scriptures, the prophets, and the gospels, can be clearly, and unambiguously, and harmoniously understood by all, although all do not believe them.'³ Again, in showing that the heretics of his day followed neither Scripture nor tradition: 'We have learned from none others the plan of our salvation, than from those through whom the gospel has come down to us, which they did at one time proclaim in public, and at a later

¹ We give both the Greek and Latin text of this passage, that the reader may judge for himself: *Διότι καὶ ἡ προσφορά τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὐκ ἐστὶ σαρκική, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθαρὰ.* 'Quapropter oblatio eucharistiæ etiam non carnalis sed spiritualis est et in hoc munda.'

² The word *ἀντίτυπον* is translated in the Latin text by *exemplum*, in lib. i. c. v. § 6, and is used exactly in the sense of emblem, which see. Harvey tries to make something more of this word *ἀντίτυπον*, and, though disclaiming any notion of consubstantiation, he certainly seems to hold sacramentarian ideas (see note 5, p. 504, of his second vol.).

³ Lib. ii. c. xxvii. § 2.

period, by the will of God handed down to us in the Scriptures to be the ground and pillar of our faith.' ¹ Again, after a passage to which we have already referred, when he advises men to go, in case of doubt on some important point, to the oldest established church, he adds : 'For how should it be if the Apostles themselves had not left us writings? Would it not be necessary (in that case) to follow the course of the tradition which they handed down to those to whom they did commit the churches?' ² From the above we may learn, first, that Irenæus believed that the entire Scriptures could be easily understood by all. The Latin text is : 'In aperto, et sine ambiguitate, et similiter ab omnibus audiri possint.' Secondly, that they were to be the ground and pillar of our faith : 'Fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum.' Thirdly, he asks, 'How should it be if the Apostles themselves had not left us writings,' and would it not then be necessary to follow tradition? Certainly, we would add ; but seeing they have left us writings, then it is not necessary to have recourse to tradition. We will now notice some of the peculiar doctrines held by Irenæus, which will show us how little the Fathers are to be depended upon as a safe guide in all points. He maintains that our Saviour's ministry extended over ten years, whereas it is well known that it lasted little more than three years ; also that He lived till He was nearly fifty years of age. But what is most extraordinary is, that he asserts that those who were conversant with St. John

¹ Lib. iii. c. i. § 1.

² *Ibid.* c. iv. § 1.

had received that information from him. The passage is as follows: 'Now that the first stage of early life embraces thirty years, and that this extends onwards towards the fortieth year, everyone will admit; but from the fortieth and fiftieth year a man begins to decline towards old age, which our Lord possessed while He still fulfilled the office of a Teacher, even as the gospel and all the elders testify; those who were conversant in Asia with John, the disciple of the Lord, (affirming) that John conveyed to them that information.'¹ Irenæus gives us some strange reasons why there should be only four gospels. 'It is not possible,' says he, 'that the gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are. For since there are four zones of the world in which we live, and four principal winds (Greek, τέσσαρα καθολικά πνεύματα; Latin, quatuor principales spiritus), while the Church is scattered throughout all the world, and the "pillar and ground" (1 Tim. iii. 5) of the Church is the gospel and the Spirit of life, it is fitting that she should

¹ Lib. ii. c. xxii. § 5. Harvey, in a note to the above passage, says (vol. i. p. 331): 'The reader may here perceive the unsatisfactory character of tradition where a mere fact is concerned,' &c.; and then he goes on to say, 'Not so, however, where doctrines are concerned; the rule of Faith, comprising the articles of the Christian belief, was also secured by tradition, but in this case the genuineness of the tradition is proved by the fact, that in every nation, where the gospel was preached, the rule of Faith still taught the same thing. The case is, the one kind of tradition was of vital import, and was jealously kept by the Church catholic; the other, of a more trivial character, only floated loosely in the minds of individuals.' The above seems to prove too much, for how can it be applied when doctrine became corrupted? It shows the absolute necessity of a revealed Word, by which the Fathers are to be tried, and that they are not to be followed as a sure guide unless when they agree with the written Word.

have four pillars, breathing out immortality on every side, and vivifying men afresh.' He next goes on to argue the point from there being four faces to the Cherubim (Rev. iv. 7), and four covenants—one under Adam, the second under Noah, the third under Moses, and the fourth under the gospel.¹ This seems trifling with reason; but when we maintain there are five and not four zones, and as many winds as you choose to count the points from which they blow, his reasoning falls to the ground. He has some very peculiar views about Eve and the Virgin Mary. We read (lib. iii. c. xxii. § 4) 'that Mary was obedient, but Eve disobedient; the latter was the cause of death, the former the cause of salvation; that it was necessary for Adam and Eve to grow up to adult age before having children' (Latin, 'Oportebat enim illos primo adolescere,'² &c.), for which there is no authority in Scripture, as it is generally believed they were created in an adult state. In referring to the disobedience of Eve and the obedience of Mary, there is a very confused passage in the following terms: 'It has, in fact, happened that the first compact looses from the second tie, but that the second tie takes the position of the first, which has been cancelled.'³

¹ Lib. iii. c. xi. § 8.

² Massuet, in a note to this passage, says: 'Peculiaris Irenæo sententia, cui non multi patrocina-buntur; primos scilicet parentes in adulta ætate haud creatos, conjugio statim maturos non extitisse.'—Migne's *Curs.* vol. vii. p. 959.

³ 'It is very difficult to follow the reasoning of Irenæus in this passage. Massuet has a long note upon it, in which he sets forth the various points of comparison and contrast here indicated between Eve and Mary; but he ends with this remark, "Hæc certe et quæ sequuntur paulo subtiliora."'—Clark's *Antenicene Library*, vol. v. p. 361, n. 5.

This seems to indicate that Eve's disobedience was blotted out by Mary's obedience—certainly a very strange doctrine. In fact, we have it a little farther on in these words: 'Sic autem et Evæ inobedientiæ nodus solutionem accepit per obedientiam Mariæ. Quod enim alligavit, virgo Eva per incredulitatem, hoc virgo Maria solvit per fidem.' That this is the true meaning we may infer also from a passage in the fifth book. In speaking of Eve and Mary, he says,¹ 'If the former did disobey God, yet the latter was persuaded to be obedient to God, in order that the Virgin Mary might become the *patroness* of the Virgin Eve.' ('Si ea inobedieret Deo; sed hæc suasa est obedire Deo, uti virginis Evæ virgo Maria fieret *advocata*.'²) If this passage is to be taken in a literal and not figurative sense, then we have more mediators than one, and is in direct opposition to the passage in 1 Tim. ii. 5: "There is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." We must therefore conclude that it is

¹ 'Feuardent's observations,' says Harvey, 'respecting the intercession of the Blessed Virgin are entirely out of place. The benefits arising to the human race by means of the Virgin Mary are coextensive with our loss through the disobedience of Eve. This is the truth conveyed by the author' (vol. ii. p. 376, n. 2).

² Lib. v. c. xix. § 1. On this passage says Conybeare: 'Now, although we readily acknowledge that the Christian is alike bound by duty and feeling with the highest respect to call that Holy Virgin blessed among women, yet assuredly never has the true Church learnt to look to her obedience as the meritorious cause of man's salvation; never can she recognise her as the advocate of sinners. Such instances of forced misinterpretations, questionable speculations, and early corruptions, even in a Father, the sober quality of whose judgment, as we have seen, so generally deserves our commendation, may well show us how little safe it is to rely on so treacherous a conveyance as human tradition for the preservation of Divine truth.'—*Bampton Lectures for 1839*, p. 321.

only in a figurative sense, just as he before says, As Eve was the means of bringing death by her disobedience, so Mary was the means of bringing life by her obedience.¹ Whilst treating on this subject, we would notice a passage in the third book, which strikes at the root of Mary's sinlessness as held by some Romanists. It is this: 'By yielding obedience, become the cause of salvation both to herself and the whole human race' ('Obediens, et sibi, et universo generi humano causa facta est salutis').² Irenæus believed in a millenium, and taking the words of St. Peter (2 Pet. iii. 18) literally as applied to the creation, he held that the world will last just 6,000 years. He says: 'For in as many days as this world was made, in so many thousand years shall it be concluded. And for this reason the Scripture says, "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their adornment. And God brought to a conclusion upon the sixth day the works that He had made; and God rested upon the seventh day from all his works."' ³ This is an account of the things formerly created, as also it is a prophecy of what is to come. For the day of the Lord is as a thousand years, and in six days created things were completed; it is evident, therefore, that they will come to an end at the

¹ 'Now it would be clear blasphemy,' says Beaven, 'to ascribe our *salvation* to the Virgin otherwise than in a figurative sense, as being an instrument in the Divine hand for its accomplishment by becoming the mother of the real Saviour; and so, in the same figurative sense, she was the advocate of Eve, by becoming the mother of Him who was really her Advocate. The figure is no doubt rather bold, but still it is evidently but a figure.'—Beaven's *Irenæus*, p. 260.

² Lib. iii. c. xxii. § 4. See also lib. iii. c. xvi. § 7: 'The Lord checking her untimely haste' ('Dominus repellens ejus intempestivam festinationem'); also Harvey's note on this passage, vol. ii. p. 88.

³ Gen. ii. 2.

sixth thousandth year.’¹ A little farther on we have the following :—‘ The days will come in which vines shall grow each having 10,000 branches, and in each branch 10,000 twigs, and in each true twig 10,000 shoots, and in each one of the shoots 10,000 clusters, and on every one of the clusters 10,000 grapes, and every grape, when pressed, will give five-and-twenty metretes of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, “ I am a better cluster, take me ; bless the Lord through me.” ’ After going on in a similar style with regard to the productiveness of a grain of wheat, he adds : ‘ And these things are borne witness to in writing by Papias, the hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, in his fourth book ; for there were five books compiled by him.’² We may thus see there was no want of credulity amongst the early Fathers, and also how little dependence is to be placed on tradition for a correct statement of things.³

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

Clement of Alexandria lived towards the end of the second and in the beginning of the third century. He was a native either of Athens or Alexandria. We have

¹ Lib. v. c. xxviii. § 3.

² Lib. v. c. xxxiii. §§ 3 and 4.

³ ‘ The other instance,’ says Conybeare, ‘ in which, as I have said, Irenæus appears to have been betrayed into a palpable misstatement by relying on oral tradition, relates to those very speculations, and is avowedly borrowed from the same Papias. In this, a strange prophecy, evidently of Rabbinical fabrication, concerning the extraordinary fertility of the millennial period, is attributed, in violation of every mark of internal evidence and probability, to the lips of our Divine Lord.’—*Bampton Lectures for 1839*, p. 323.

no certain information as to the exact time either of his birth or his death. Eusebius tells us he was originally a heathen,¹ and Neander asserts that he became a Christian at the age of manhood.² He was made a presbyter, and is supposed to have succeeded Pantænus as president of the Catechetical School at Alexandria about the year 190, and to have died about 220. In high commendation of Clement, Lardner quotes from Eusebius, Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, and St. Jerome.³ He had for his master Pantænus, and for his pupils Origen and some other eminent men. He travelled through various countries, and acquired a vast amount of knowledge. The works of his that remain are an 'Exhortation to the Heathen' (Λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἑλλήνας), the 'Instructor' (Παιδαγωγὸς), and the 'Miscellanies,' or various discourses (Στρωματεῖς, or Stromata), with some other small treatises. His particular fault as a writer is generally allowed to be, the over-rating philosophy as a guide to religion. In treating of the writings of this Father, says Conybeare: 'As literary curiosities, these writings undoubtedly possess the very highest interest; and they also contain much matter well entitled to higher and more Christian praise: many powerful statements of the converting truths of the gospel, and affecting exhortations to receive those truths in their full powers, and to find in them holiness and salvation. But these sounder portions are too commonly alloyed with, and even corrupted by, an incongruous mixture of extraneous and irrelevant matter,

¹ Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* lib. ii. c. ii.

² *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 485.

³ *Credibility*, vol. ii. p. 222.

fragments of multifarious literature, and crude speculations of a diseased philosophy.’¹ The main object of the *Exhortation to the Heathen* is to show the great superiority of the Christian religion to that of the pagans. In this treatise he thoroughly exposes the monstrous deities, and the abominable licentiousness of the pagan worship, and then contrasts with it the wisdom, the purity and perfection of God the Father and God the Son; and thus endeavours to win the heathen over to Christianity. The *Pædagogus*, or ‘Instructor,’ was intended to instruct those who were converted to the Christian faith. It is divided into three books or parts. The first book shows Jesus Christ to be the Great Instructor, the image and likeness of God; that those who do his will are God’s children. He most dwells upon his goodness, his faithfulness and justice; that he will equally reward the righteous and punish the wicked; and finishes by showing that to be virtuous is rational, to be wicked is irrational. The second and third books enter into all the minutiae of a Christian’s conduct and conversation—eating, drinking; sleeping, dress, conduct in public and private—nothing seems to have escaped the notice of Clement; and some parts are of so delicate a nature that they have never been translated into English.

Though many now-a-days might think some of his advice foolish and trifling, we must never forget the time when this was written, and that he was addressing those who had emerged from pagan idolatry with all its

¹ *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, pp. 192, 193.

abominations, and that the converts were surrounded by those who were ready to entice them back again to the bondage of sin and corruption.

The *Miscellanies* were intended to show what the true gnosis is, in opposition to what was called gnosticism. Just as the 'Exhortation' was written to convert the heathen to Christianity and the 'Instructor' to lead them, when converted, in the right path, so he composed the 'Miscellanies' to point out the true philosophy founded on faith in Christ. This last part is a wonderful mixture of truth and error, showing profound knowledge of heathen philosophy, to which he seems to have paid great deference, going so far as to say that it was to the Greeks what the law was to the Jews. It is valuable as showing the difficulties with which the establishing of Christianity had to contend in the end of the second century. Some sentences of the beginning of the first book are deficient, and the whole of the eighth book (the last) is entirely wanting.¹ We will pass on to give an account of Clement's doctrines, when we shall see a good deal of obscurity and confusion in his ideas, just as we have already noticed in others of the Fathers. In his 'Exhortation to the Heathen' to induce them to abandon their idolatries, he says: 'Your Olympian Jove, the image of an image, greatly out of harmony with truth, is the senseless work of Attic hands. For the image of God is his Word, the genuine Son of Mind,

¹ Bishop Kaye has written a very good analysis of Clement's works, published by Rivington; and a translation in English of the greatest part forms the 4th and 12th volumes of Clark's *Antenice Library*, from which our English quotations are taken.

the Divine Word, the archetypal Light of light; and the image of the Word is the true man, the mind which is in man, who is therefore said to have been made "in the image and likeness of God,"¹ &c. Again: 'Receive, then, the water of the Word; wash, ye polluted ones, purify yourselves from custom, by sprinkling yourselves with the drops of truth.'² In the 'Instructor' he says: 'Being baptised, we are illuminated; illuminated, we become sons; being made sons, we are made perfect; being made perfect, we are immortal. . . . This work is variously called grace, and illumination, and perfection, and washing; washing, by which we cleanse away our sins; grace, by which the penalties accruing to transgressions are remitted; and illumination, by which that holy light of salvation is beheld; that is, by which we see God clearly.' Again: 'Salvation, accordingly, is the following of Christ; "For that which is in him is life."³ "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my words, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into condemnation, but hath passed from death to life."⁴ Thus believing alone and regeneration is perfection in life.' By the former passage one would think that baptism preceded faith, by the latter we see clearly he places faith first and afterwards baptism or regeneration, both which words were gradually becoming to signify one and the same thing. He further adds: 'For what ignorance has bound ill, is by knowledge loosed well; these bonds are with all speed slackened by human faith and Divine

¹ Gen. i. 26.² Lib. x. p. 91.³ John i. 4.⁴ *Ibid.* v. 24.

grace, our transgressions being taken away by one Pæonian medicine, the baptism of the Word. . . . We also, repenting of our sins, renouncing our iniquities, purified by baptism, speed back to the eternal light, children to the Father.' Again, in speaking of knowledge and illumination, he says : ' Does this, I ask, take place on the advent of this instruction ? You cannot tell the time. For instruction leads to faith, and faith with baptism is trained by the Holy Spirit.'¹

By the above passages we may clearly see that faith and repentance preceded baptism, and that baptism was never conferred till men were instructed and made disciples by faith, without which the ceremony could be of no avail. Were we required to adduce further proofs of this, we might refer to his chapter on faith being the foundation of all knowledge, when he says : ' Knowledge is a state of mind that results from demonstration ; but faith is a grace which, from what is indemonstrable, conducts to what is universal and simple ; what is neither with matter, nor matter, nor under matter. . . . With a new eye, a new ear, a new heart, whatever can be seen and heard is to be apprehended, by the faith and understanding of the disciples of the Lord, who speak, hear and act spiritually.'² We may therefore conclude that as faith is the foundation of all true knowledge, and that men were not baptised without knowledge, therefore faith was generally considered necessary for baptism. Clement has some very confused notions about perfection, sometimes referring it to

¹ *Instructor*, lib. i. c. vi. pp. 134, 135.

² *Miscell.* lib. ii. c. iv. vol. ii. p. 9.

baptism, as in the 'Instructor,' in speaking of our Saviour, he says, 'He is perfected by the washing (of baptism) alone, and is sanctified by the descent of the Spirit. Such is the case. The same also takes place in our case, whose exemplar Christ became. Being baptised, we are illuminated ; illuminated, we become sons ; being made sons, we are made perfect ; being made perfect, we are made immortal.'¹ Then he makes it to consist of the knowledge and love of God, as we may learn by chap. xxv. of book iv. of the 'Miscellanies,' and lastly he pleads that the Gnostic is the only perfect man, as we may see by chaps. xii. and xiii. of book vi. of the 'Miscellanies: ' 'He who is a Gnostic, and righteous, and holy with prudence, hastes to reach the measure of perfect manhood.'² 'He, then, who has first moderated his passions and strained himself for impassibility, and developed to the beneficence of gnostic perfection, is here equal to the angels.' Before leaving this chap. xiii. we would notice a passage which seems to indicate that he thought every believer to be a priest. 'Those, then, also now who have exercised themselves in the Lord's commandments, and lived perfectly and gnostically according to the gospel, may be enrolled in the chosen body of the apostles. Such an one is in reality a presbyter of the Church, and a true minister (διδάκωνος) of the will of God, if he do and teach what is the Lord's, not as being ordained by men, nor regarded righteous because a presbyter, but enrolled in the presbyterate because righteous. And although here upon earth he

¹ *Instructor*, lib. i. c. vi. p. 132.

² Lib. vi. c. xii. p. 360.

be not honoured with the chief seat, he will sit down on the four-and-twenty thrones judging the people, as John says in the Apocalypse.' ¹ The following, at the close of this chapter, smacks a little of the Ignatian hierarchical style: 'Since, according to my opinion, the grades here in the church, of bishops, presbyters, deacons, are imitations of the angelic glory, and of that economy which the Scriptures say awaits those who, following the footsteps of the Apostles, have lived in perfection of righteousness according to the gospel. For those taken up in the clouds, the Apostle writes, will first minister (as deacons), then be classed in the presbyterate, by promotion in glory (for glory differs from glory) till they grow into a "perfect man,"' by which we conclude Clement means a bishop. Notwithstanding that bishops, presbyters and deacons are here mentioned, it is evident they were not considered three orders, but the bishop was only *primus inter pares*. In the 'Miscell.' lib. iii. chap. xii. we have the words presbyter and deacon used, and bishop entirely left out. Again, in the tract called 'Quis Dives Salvetur,' the words presbyter and bishop are used to the same individual. Even Bishop Kaye admits this. In referring to this subject, he says: 'In the tract entitled "Quis Dives Salvetur" the titles *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, are indifferently applied to the same person; but St. John had previously been

¹ Rev. iv. 4, and xi. 16. Potter, in a note on this passage, says: 'Ideo docet auctor suo tempore *lucuisse*, ad apostolicam dignitatem evehi, quod episcopi in locum ac dignitatem apostolorum successerint. Proinde idem est episcopatum obtinere et ad apostolicam dignitatem evehi,' &c.; which seems very far-fetched and different from Clement's meaning. See Potter's *Clemens Alexandrinus* (Oxon. 1715).

described as travelling through Asia Minor appointing bishops, forming whole churches, and admitting into the number of the clergy those who were marked (κληροῦ) out by the Holy Spirit. Here there is no mention either of presbyters or deacons. It is evident, therefore, that the bishop was distinguished from the rest of the clergy ; he was in truth the chief presbyter.'¹ To show that Clement had sound views of the Lord's Supper, and represented the bread and wine as symbols of Christ's body and blood, we quote the following passages : ' For the blood, that is, the Word, desired to be mixed with water, as his blood is mingled with salvation. And the blood of the Lord is twofold. For there is the blood of his flesh, by which we are redeemed from corruption ; and the spiritual, that by which we are anointed. And to drink the blood of Jesus is to become partaker of the Lord's immortality ; the Spirit the energetic principle of the Word, as blood is of flesh. Accordingly as wine is blended with water, so is the Spirit with man. And the one, the mixture of wine and water, nourishes to faith ; while the other, the Spirit, conducts to immortality. And the mixture of both, of the water and of the Word, is called *Eucharist*, renowned and glorious grace ; and they who *by faith partake of it* are sanctified both in body and soul.'² This last part is particularly valuable, as in perfect harmony with the doctrines of the Church of England. Again, to show that he understood the elements used in the Lord's Supper figuratively, he says :

¹ Kaye's *Clement of Alexandria* (London, 1835), p. 464.

² *Instructor*, lib. ii. c. ii. p. 200.

‘ And He blessed the wine, saying, “ Take, drink ; this is my blood,” the blood of the vine. He figuratively calls the Word “ shed for many, for the remission of sins,” the holy stream of gladness. . . . But that it was wine which was drunk by the Lord, He tells us again, when He spake concerning Himself, reproaching the Jews for their hardness of heart.’¹ The above was written no doubt against the Eucratites, who used water only in celebrating the Lord’s Supper ; but from the whole passage we see that the words were used only in a figurative sense, as representing the body and blood of Christ. Again, he says : ‘ Elsewhere the Lord, in the Gospel according to John, brought this out by symbols, when He said, “ Eat ye my flesh, and drink my blood,” describing distinctly by metaphor the drinkable properties of faith and the promise, by means of which the Church, like a human being, consisting of many members, is refreshed and grows, is welded together and compacted of both—of faith, which is the body, and of hope, which is the soul ; as also the Lord of flesh and blood.’²

The reader who expects to find in the writings of Clement a clear view of the way of salvation, will be sadly disappointed. Sometimes he speaks of the death of Christ as if everything depended upon it.³ Again, he tells us that salvation consists in the following of Christ, and to prove it quotes the text ‘ He that heareth my words and believeth on Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into condemnation, but

¹ *Instructor*, lib. ii. c. ii. p. 208.

² *Ibid.* lib. i. c. vi. p. 140.

³ *Ibid.* lib. i. cc. v. and vi.

hath passed from death to life.’¹ Then he goes on to show that faith and regeneration, as we have already seen, is perfection in life. He very properly teaches that faith must be followed by works,² but then he speaks of our works being the ground of our justification, and that our ‘sins are cleansed by alms and faith,’ *Ἐλεημοσύναις οὖν καὶ πίστεσιν ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι.*³ We believe he had not clear views upon the subject, and therefore could not write clearly. His mind about marriage is also very difficult to obtain, at one time asserting that those who say that marriage is bad blame the creation and the gospel dispensation ;⁴ at another he gives his decided preference to celibacy, and, like the good old Vicar of Wakefield, admires monogamy.⁵ He seems to come to the conclusion that the only lawful reason for being married is the procreation of children, verily a very poor one to support the human race. From the following passage, already alluded to, we may conclude that in his days there was no restriction put on the marriage of clergymen : ‘*Quin et unius quoque uxoris virum utique admittit ; seu sit presbyter, seu diaconus seu laicus, utens matrimonio citra reprehensionem : “Servabetur autem per filiorum procreationem.”*’⁶

¹ *Instructor*, lib. i. c. vi.

² *Miscell.* lib. vi. c. xiv. p. 367.

³ *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. xv.

⁴ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. xvii. p. 133.

⁵ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. i. p. 85 ; Pott. v. 11, 12 : ‘*Monogamiam autem, et quæ consistit in uno solum matrimonio, honestatem admiremur.*’

⁶ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. xii. p. 127.

TERTULLIAN.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was the son of a proconsular centurion. He was born at Carthage, about 160, some say as early as 150. He is supposed to have been a heathen, bred to the law, and when converted was made a presbyter; though there is no absolute certainty on these points. He was acquainted with Greek, in which he wrote several treatises,¹ and is considered the most ancient Latin Father now existing. Several of his works are lost, though a good many still remain. Lardner says, 'His "Apology" is a masterpiece, and his other performances are written with wit and force, and are edifying and instructive.'² He was much esteemed by the Fathers. Jerome tells us he was such a favourite with Cyprian that he read some of his works daily, and used to say, 'Da magistrum,' *Give me my master.*³ Eusebius says, 'He was well acquainted with the Roman laws, eminent likewise on other accounts, and especially celebrated at Rome.'⁴ Vincentius Sirinensis goes so far as to consider him the prince of the Latin writers of the Church, 'Nostrorum omnium facile princeps judicandus est.'⁵ His style is considered rugged and unpolished, sometimes obscure, but often masculine, lofty and eloquent. Jerome tells us that 'When he

¹ See *De Corona*, c. vi.; *De Baptismo*, c. xv.; and *Adv. Præteam*, c. iii.

² Lardner's *Credib.* vol. ii. p. 268.

³ Jerome, *De Scriptor. Illustr.* c. liii.

⁴ Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* v. c. 1.

⁵ Vincent. *Commonit. adv. Hæres.* c. xxiv.

had continued a presbyter of the Church till about the middle part of his age, on account of the envy and reproaches of the clergy of the Roman church, he went over to the sect of Montanus, and in many of his books makes mention of that new prophecy.¹ Others, among whom is Pamelius, attribute his going over to the sect Montanus to disappointed ambition, in not obtaining the see of Rome or Carthage; but Kaye and Neander differ entirely from the above, and attribute his defection to his peculiar temperament and constitution of mind.²

We learn that he was a married man from an address to his wife, ‘*Ad Uxorem*,’ warning her against a second marriage if she should become a widow, which still exists. He is believed to have lived to a great age, and to have died about the year 220; others think as early as 200, but this would be difficult to account for if he was born about the middle of the second century. For the opinions of modern authors regarding Tertullian, we refer the reader to Tillemont, Du Pin, Cave, Mosheim, Neander, and Kaye.

There are about thirty short treatises of Tertullian still existing, which have been divided into the apologetic, doctrinal, and moral.³ We shall refer only to those that concern our subject. In his apologetic works he takes very much the same line of argument as Justin Martyr, of whom we have treated.

We have shown that there is no foundation for a

¹ Lardner's *Credib.* v. ii. p. 270.

² Kaye's *Eccles. History of the Second and Third Centuries*, p. 36; and Neander's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 236.

³ Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 167, n. 1.

sacrificing priest in the new Testament Scriptures, that after the Apostles disappeared there gradually was forming first a hierarchical and finally a sacerdotal caste. In the New Testament times the words *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* were used synonymously, but afterwards, as we have seen in Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus, they were used to signify the same person, and yet at other times they were used distinctively. We shall now see that the first real claim was made by Tertullian of a true sacerdotal title, which claim was to go on increasing, till at last it culminated in the absurd and blasphemous doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope of Rome. Neander very justly says: 'In many respects Tertullian may be considered as standing on the boundary line between an old and a new era in the Christian Church.' Though there appears continually amongst the early Fathers a sound and scriptural sense as to the way of salvation, it gradually became disused, by exalting the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper out of their due place, till at last the former *ipso facto* became the making of a Christian and regenerating him for another world; and the latter, by the consecration of the elements of bread and wine, changed them into the real body and blood of Christ, when they became the food of the soul and a *viaticum* for entering into eternity. Forgetting that without faith neither the one nor the other could be of any value, a worldly idea arose that there was something peculiar about the water in baptism, some mystic property by which they

¹ *Church History*, vol. i. p. 202.

received the Holy Spirit, and were made heirs of the kingdom of heaven, and that when they partook of the symbols of Christ's body and blood they actually had eaten and drank that which they merely represented. Thus, instead of an inward and spiritual church founded by our Saviour and his Apostles, there arose an outward and worldly one founded by a set of designing men who professed to have the power of the keys, by which they could open and shut the kingdom of heaven. Tertullian, like many others of the Fathers, evidently was not perfect in his knowledge of the way of salvation, and is often unguarded in his language, as we shall see; and it is sometimes very difficult to know what he really did believe. We will now examine his writings about baptism, and endeavour to show what his ideas were on that fundamental point. If we were to confine ourselves to certain passages, such as in his treatise against Marcion, c. xxviii., where baptism is spoken of as remission of sins, regeneration, the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the sacrament of salvation, we might be led to suppose that Tertullian believed in the doctrine of the *opus operatum*; but when we examine his other treatises, 'De Anima,' 'De Pœnitentia,' 'De Resurrectione Carnis,' 'De Baptismo,' we shall see he had a very different idea. In his treatise 'De Anima' ¹ he speaks of faith as necessary for baptism: 'When the soul embraces the

¹ Chap. xli.: 'Cum ad fidem pervenit reformata per secundam naturam ex aqua et superna virtute, detracto corruptionis pristinae aulæo, totam lucem suam conspicit.' Neander, in treating on baptism, says: 'Tertullian finely remarks, concerning the effects of baptism, "When the soul attains to faith,"' &c. (quoting the whole of this passage); and then adds, 'but even Tertullian did not understand here how to distinguish

faith, being renewed in its second birth by water and the power from above, then, the veil of its former corruption being taken away, it beholds the light in all its brightness,' &c.

In 'De Pœnitentia' he devotes a whole chapter to show the necessity of repentance, manifested by amendment of life, previous to baptism: 'How inconsistent is it to expect pardon of sins to be granted to a repentance which they have not fulfilled! This is to hold out your hand for merchandise, but not produce the price. For repentance is the price at which the Lord has determined to award pardon: He proposes the redemption of release from penalty at the compensating exchange of repentance.'¹ He shows that preparation was necessary for baptism, and that it ought neither to be conferred nor received too rashly; and in case the example of Philip baptizing the Ethiopian chamberlain should be misunderstood, he says: 'The Scripture (which he was reading) falls in opportunely with his faith; (Philip) being requested, is taken beside him; the Lord is pointed out; faith lingers not; water needs no waiting for; the work is completed, and the Apostle snatched away.' Then, after speaking of Paul's baptism, he goes on to say: 'According to the circumstances and disposition, and even age, of each individual, the delay of baptism is preferable; principally, however, in the case of little children. For why is it necessary—if (baptism itself) is not so (indispensably) necessary'²—

rightly between the inward grace and the outward sign.'—*Church History*, vol. ii. p. 423.

¹ Chap. vi. p. 266.

² Tertullian has already allowed (in c. xvi.) that baptism is not *indispensably* necessary to salvation (Clark's *Translation*, p. 253, n. 3).

that the sponsors likewise should be thrust into danger, who both themselves, by reason of mortality, may fail to fulfil their promises, and may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition (in the infant for whom they stood)? The Lord does indeed say, "Forbid them not to come unto me." Let them come, then, while they are growing up; let them "come" while they are learning, while they are being taught whither to come; let them become Christians¹ when they have become able to know Christ.' He then proceeds to show that in worldly circumstances men show more caution, and concludes the chapter by 'If any understand the weighty import of baptism, they will fear its reception more than its delay: sound faith is secure of salvation.'² The whole tenour of this passage shows that the doctrine of the *opus operatum* was growing,³ that some were baptised in his day who were not fit to be baptised, else why all these cautions both to those who administered and those who received baptism; also that some baptised infants, although he does not seem to have approved it. Again, we learn that sound views were still lingering about baptism, viz. that faith was necessary to make the ceremony effectual.

¹ *I.e.* in baptism (Clark's *Translation*).

² *De Baptismo*, c. xviii. p. 252.

³ An instance of this is cited in Sismondi's *History of the French*, when Clovis, in 496, made a vow that if he gained the victory over the Germans he would become a Christian. Having gained the victory of Tolbiac, he not only was baptised himself, but caused 3,000 of his warriors to be baptised also. The historian tells us that Clovis sent for the Bishop of Rheims (St. Remi), who unfortunately spoke Latin whilst the Franks could only understand German; this difficulty, however, was got over and the ceremony of baptism went on. The concluding words

With regard to the Lord's Supper, Tertullian uses some strong terms, such as 'participation of the sacrifice' ¹ (*Participatio sacrificii*); 'God's altar' ² (*ad aram Dei*); 'Feeding on the fatness of the Lord's body,' viz. the Eucharist ³ ('Opimitate Dominici Corporis vescitur, Eucharistia scilicet'); and in reference to the offering up of the goat as a type of Christ's death, he says, 'The priests of the spiritual temple, that is, the Church, are to enjoy the flesh, as it were, of the Lord's own grace' ⁴ ('Sacerdotes templi spiritalis, id est Ecclesiæ, dominicæ gratiæ quasi visceratione quadam fruerentur').

Notwithstanding these apparently sacerdotal expressions, we shall endeavour to show that he only used them in a spiritual or figurative sense. For instance, in his 'Liber adv. Judæos,' he contrasts the carnal sacrifices of the Old Testament with the spiritual sacrifices of the New, and speaks of the sacrifice of praise and of the heart acceptable to God.⁵ And in the very same chapter, where he speaks of the 'flesh feeding on the body and blood of Christ,' he calls the 'conflicts of the soul' fastings and abstinences, and the humiliations that are annexed to such duty, sacrifices.⁶ In writing

are these: 'Saint-Remi dans la Cathédrale de Reims, le jour de Noël 496, reprenant avec son disciple le ton d'un maître, lui dit, en répandant l'eau lustrale, en présence de l'armée, "Courbe ta tête, ô Sicambre! avec humilité. Adore ce que tu as brûlé, et brûle ce que tu as adoré."'—*Histoire des Français*, vol. i. p. 188.

¹ *De Oratione*, c. xix. p. 193.

² *Ibid.*

³ *De Pudicitia*, c. ix. Kaye thinks the words *Eucharistia scilicet* very like a gloss.

⁴ *Adv. Marcionem*, lib. iii. c. vii. p. 133.

⁵ *Adv. Judæos*, c. v.

⁶ *De Resurr. Carnis*, c. viii. p. 230. So also in *De Oratione*, c. xxviii. p. 202, we read: 'We are the true adorers and the true priests (*veri*

against the Docetism of Marcion, he uses the following expression about our Lord's body : 'Then, having taken the bread and given it to his disciples, He made it his own body, by saying "This is my body;" that is, the figure of my body. A figure, however, there could not have been, unless there were first a veritable body.'¹ Now it would be perfectly absurd from this passage to draw the inference that Tertullian believed in transubstantiation, for it would have no meaning. Again, he says : 'In like manner, when treating of the gospel, we have proved from the sacrament of the bread and the cup the verity of the Lord's body and blood in opposition to Marcion's phantom.'² By the word sacrament he evidently means sign or symbol, and nothing more. In the first book he uses the expression 'nor the bread by which He represents his own proper body.'³ In the third book we have 'For so did God in your own gospel even reveal the sense, when he called his body bread; so that for the time to come you may understand that he has given to his body the figure of bread, whose body the prophet of old figuratively turned into bread.'⁴ We come therefore to the conclusion that Tertullian held sound views about the Lord's Supper, as well as

sacerdotes), who, praying in spirit, sacrifice in spirit (*sacrificamus*) prayer a victim (*hostiam*) proper and acceptable to God, which assuredly He has required! This (victim) devoted from the whole heart, fed on faith, tended by truth, entire in innocence, pure in chastity, garlanded with love (*agape*), we ought to escort with the pomp of good works, amid psalms and hymns unto God's altar (*altare*), to obtain for us all things from God.'

¹ *Adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. xl. p. 352.

² *Ibid.* lib. v. c. viii. p. 407.

³ *Ibid.* lib. i. c. xiv. p. 25.

⁴ Lib. iii. c. xix. p. 157. See also *De Oratione*, c. vi. p. 184.

about baptism. We wish we could see no more signs of sacerdotalism in him ; but in 'De Baptismo,' when treating of the power of conferring baptism, he says : 'Of giving it, the chief priest, who is the bishop, has the right ; in the next place, the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the bishop's authority, on account of the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved.'¹ We here have the first assertion of the Christian ministry claiming the sacerdotal power in the expression *summus sacerdos*, as we have already stated the expression found in Clement of Rome's Epistle to be an interpolation. We also learn that the bishop is now in the place of the apostle ; and to show how gradually this idea was introduced, Tertullian immediately qualifies it by admitting that even laymen may baptise. 'Besides these,' he goes on to say, 'even laymen have the right ; for what is equally received can be equally given.' Then, again, he qualifies what he said by adding, 'Unless bishops, or priests, or deacons, be on the spot (ordinary), disciples are called (to the work). The word of the Lord ought not to be hidden by any : in like manner, too, baptism, which is equally God's

¹ *De Baptismo*, c. xvii. p. 250. We quote the Latin from Migne, cap. xvii.: 'Superest ad concludendam materiā de observatione quoque dandi et accipiendi Baptismum commonefacere. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesiæ honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est. Quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest, nisi episcopi jam aut presbyteri, aut diaconi, vocantur discentes. Domini sermo non debet abscondi ab ullo. Proinde et Baptismus æque Dei census ab omnibus exerceri potest ; sed quanto magis laicis disciplina verecundiæ et modestiæ incumbit, cum ea majoribus competat, ne sibi assumant dicatum episcopi officium episcopatus. Æmulatio schismatum mater est.' We prefer the punctuation 'Episcopatus æmulatio schismatum mater est.'

property (*census*), can be administered by all ;' but lest the laity should take too much upon themselves, he goes on to say: 'But how much more is the rule of reverence and modesty incumbent on laymen, seeing that these (powers) belong (strictly) to their superiors (*majoribus*), lest they assume to themselves the specific (*dicatum*) function of the bishop! Emulation of the episcopal office is the mother of schisms.' The whole of this passage is valuable, not only in showing the early claims of the sacerdotal party, which was gradually arising, but also as admitting the universal priesthood of all true believers,¹ so plainly laid down in Scripture, but which doctrine from this time began to grow more and more dim, till it almost disappeared, and even now is comprehended by very few. The caution to laymen only to exercise their vocation when it was absolutely indispensable is so like the passage we have quoted from Clemens Romanus, that they appear to have been written about the same time.²

We have said nothing about Tertullian being a Montanist, and the treatises that were written before, or after he joined that sect, because there is so much uncertainty and difference of opinion on the subject. We will therefore refer the reader to Bishop Kaye, who treats of it in his 'Ecclesiastical History of the Second

¹ See also *De Exhort. Castit.* c. vii.: 'Vani erimus si putaverimus quod sacerdotibus non liceat, laicis licere. Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est "Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit."' (Rev. i. 6.) The reader will here see the absurdity of using the words priests (*sacerdotes*) in contrast with laymen (*laici*), and yet admitting that laymen were priests (*sacerdotes*). See also *De Monogam.* c. xii., where he uses the word *clerus* to represent the sacerdotal party.

² See pp. 44-7.

and Third Centuries.’¹ There is no doubt Tertullian had some strong ascetic opinions; and though speaking, as we have seen, of sound faith being sure of salvation, he nevertheless recommends fasts, bendings of the knee and vigils all the night through, previous to baptism, and uses such expressions as these: ‘For we do at the same time both make satisfaction for our former sins, by mortification of our flesh and spirit, and lay beforehand the foundation of defences against temptations which will closely follow.’² And again: ‘At fasts, moreover, and stations, no prayer should be made without kneeling and the remaining customary marks of humility, for (then) we are not only *praying*, but *deprecating* (wrath) and making satisfaction to God our Lord.’³ So also, in his work on Patience, he recommends mortification of the flesh as pleasing to God, and even instrumental in turning away his wrath, as if men were justified by works.⁴ He does not seem to have been convinced that true repentance will always be followed by humiliation, but required an outward manifestation of it. This he calls *ἐξομολόγησις*, or ‘a discipline for man’s prostration and humiliation;’ and after recommending sackcloth and ashes, fastings and groans, weeping and roaring, and even ‘rolling before the feet of the presbyters,’ he adds that this *exomologesis* ‘may stand instead of God’s indignation, and by temporal mortification discharge eternal punishments’ (‘et temporali afflictatione æterna supplicia, non dicam frustretur, sed expungat’).⁵ We have seen that Tertul-

¹ Cambridge, 1829, p. 43.

² *De Baptismo*, c. xx. p. 255.

³ *De Oratione*, c. xxiii. p. 199.

⁴ *De Patientia*, c. xiii. p. 226.

⁵ *De Pœnitentia*, c. ix. p. 274.

lian disapproved of second marriages by his tract 'Ad Uxorem.' There is no doubt he had a high opinion of celibacy, and argued that laymen should not marry a second time.¹ In his address to his wife, when speaking of females abstaining from a second marriage, he says, 'They are already counted as belonging to the angelic family;' ² and further on he adds, 'To us continence has been pointed out by the Lord of Salvation as an instrument for attaining eternity' ('ad instrumentum eternitatis').³

We have seen that whilst Tertullian admitted that laymen, in the absence of the clergy, might administer the Sacraments, they should do so only in cases of necessity. From a passage in his 'Apology,' when showing the simplicity and discipline of Christian assemblies, it has been asserted that there was in his time no distinction between clergy and laity. It runs thus: 'The older members, men of tried piety and prudence, preside; having obtained the dignity, not by purchase, but by acknowledged merit.'⁴ It is difficult to say

¹ *De Exhort. Castit.* c. vii.; *De Monog.* c. xii.

² *Ad Uxorem*, c. iv. p. 284.

³ *Ibid.* c. vii. p. 288. *Comp. consecutio eternitatis* (Clark's *Transl.*), *De Bapt.* c. ii.

⁴ *Apologeticus*, c. xxxix. p. 119: 'Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.' Bingham has given a very loose translation of this passage, with which Kaye very properly finds fault—viz. 'The bishops and presbyters (*seniores*) who preside over us are advanced to that honour only by public testimony.' Though not differing much from Bingham in his idea, he concludes by saying: 'But Bingham ought surely to have explained why he affixed a sense to the words so foreign from their literal meaning, especially as in another place (lib. ii. c. xix. § 19) he speaks of certain *Seniores Ecclesiae*, who were not of the clergy, yet had some concern in the care of the church. (See Kaye's *Eccles. History of the Second and Third Centuries*, p. 223, n. 3).

whether senior laymen did sometimes preside in the Christian assemblies, but there was no doubt a distinction between those who were appointed to minister and those who were not, as the very names of bishops, presbyters and deacons show, and as we learn from a passage already quoted, where he tells us that the clergy were superiors (*majores*), 'De Baptismo,' c. xvii. p. 250, and that emulation of the episcopal office is the mother of schisms. Bishop Kaye, in treating this subject, says: 'How clearly soever the distinction between the bishops and the other orders of clergy may be asserted in the writings of Tertullian, they afford us little assistance in ascertaining wherein this distinction consisted.'¹ There is no doubt that the Roman church was gradually beginning to lay claims to superiority above all the other churches; and though Tertullian does not absolutely countenance this idea, he pays great deference to that church. For instance, in his book against Marcion, when contending for the truth of the gospels, by their antiquity, he says: 'Let us see what utterance also the Romans give, so very near (to the Apostles), to whom Peter and Paul conjointly bequeathed the gospel, even sealed with their own blood.'² And again, in his 'De Præscriptione Hereticorum,' when speaking of the churches of Corinth,

¹ *Eccles. History of the Second and Third Centuries*, p. 234; and also in a note on a passage in *De Monog.* c. xii., he says: 'We may, however, infer from this passage that in Tertullian's day the validity of the distinction was occasionally questioned' (p. 228, n. 8).

² *Adv. Marcionem*, lib. iv. c. v. p. 186: 'Videamus . . . quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus Evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt.'

Philippi, Thessalonica, and Ephesus, as being founded by the Apostles, he gives a decided pre-eminence to the church at Rome in these words: 'Since, moreover, you are close upon Italy, you have Rome, from which there comes even into our hands the very authority (of Apostles themselves). How happy is its church, on which Apostles poured forth all their doctrine along with their blood! where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's!¹ where the Apostle John was first plunged, unhurt, into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island-exile! See what she has learned, what taught, what fellowship has had with even (our) churches in Africa!' ² &c. When we see that Tertullian calls the bishop *summus sacerdos*, it is not difficult to conceive that the Bishop of Rome, from his position, should claim the title of Pontifex Maximus and Episcopus Episcoporum. Consequently we find, in his treatise 'De Pudicitia,' the following passage: 'I hear there is a decree published, and that a peremptory one; the chief pontiff, the bishop of bishops, saith.'³ This arrogant spirit had already been shown, about the end of the second century, by the Roman Bishop Victor, when he excommunicated the

¹ *The Baptists* (Clark's Translation), p. 43, n. 3.

² *De Præs. Heret.* c. xxxvi. p. 43: 'Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Roman, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est. Ista quam felix Ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt! ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur; ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur; ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur: videamus quid dedicerit, quid docuerit cum Africanis quoque Ecclesiis contesserarit,' &c.

³ 'Audio etiam edictum esse propositum et quidem peremptorium: pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit' C. 1.

Churches of Asia Minor because they would not agree with him about the time of celebrating Easter.¹ We are far from asserting that this pre-eminence of the see of Rome was generally admitted, but just as there was a gradual and distinct separation between the clergy and laity, so there was a gradual separation between the presbyters, out of which the episcopate arose. Then the bishops quarrelled for pre-eminence, out of which came the metropolitans, archbishops, and finally the Pontifex Maximus, or chief of all the bishops, Episcopus Episcoporum. Bingham, however, contends that this was a name given to all the bishops of that age, and that Tertullian was here speaking ironically of the Bishop of Rome,² and also the word papa (father), which occurs in 'De Pudicitia,' c. xiii. ('Bonus pastor et benedictus papa concionalis'), was the common title of all bishops, who were called fathers of the church and fathers of the clergy.³

We have already said that Tertullian speaks with deference of the Roman church, but there is no authority in his writings for saying that it was because it was founded by St. Peter alone, but because it was founded conjointly with St Paul; and we know from Scripture that St. Paul was there first, whereas we have no evidence that St. Peter was ever there at all, nor St. John either; but Tertullian adds that the church was

¹ See Euseb. lib. v. c. 24.

² 'When Tertullian gives the title of Pontifex Maximus to the Bishop of Rome, he does him no greater honour than in those days was done to every bishop in the world; and some think he meant not the Bishop of Rome in particular, but comprehended all others under that title' (lib. ii. c. ii. § 6). Again, in § 8, he says that Tertullian was speaking ironically of the catholic bishops. See also n. 51 sub finem.

³ Lib. ii. c. ii. § 7.

sealed by the blood of the three Apostles. Neither is there any authority in Tertullian for maintaining that the power of the keys was confined to the Roman church. He does speak of the power being conferred upon St. Peter and being exercised by him ;¹ but he also says that this power was transmitted to the Church. In his 'Scorpiace' we read : 'For though you think heaven still shut, remember that the Lord left here to Peter, and through him to the Church, the keys of it, which every one who has been here put to the question, and also made confession, will carry with him.'² Now that this was not the Roman church we may learn from various passages. For instance, in 'De Baptismo' we have this : 'Moreover, after the pledging both of the attestation of faith, and the promise of salvation under (the sanction of) three witnesses, there is added, of necessity, mention of the Church ; inasmuch as, wherever there are three (that is, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost), there is the Church, which is a body of three.'³

ORIGEN.

Origen was an Alexandrian Greek, of Christian parents, born in 185, as we learn from Eusebius,⁴ who has written his history, collected partly from his

¹ *De Pudicitia*, c. xxi.

² 'Nam etsi adhuc clausum putes cœlum, memento claves ejus hic Dominum Petro, et per eum Ecclesiæ, reliquisse, quas hic unusquisque interrogatus atque confessus feret secum.'—C. x.

³ 'Quum autem sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignerentur, necessario adjicitur Ecclesiæ mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est.'—*De Baptismo*, c. vi.

⁴ Euseb. lib. vi.

writings and partly from his scholars who lived till his own time.’¹ He had the advantage of a liberal and religious education, his father Leonides making him commit a portion of Scripture daily to memory. Indeed so great was his precocity of genius that he used to puzzle his father with questions he could not answer. The father, though delighted with the inquisitive mind of his son, felt obliged to tell him to be satisfied with the literal sense of the words, and not to enquire into things beyond his reach. We are told that often, when his son was asleep, would he uncover his breast and kiss it with reverence, as a temple where the Holy Ghost was likely to take up his abode. Under the fostering care of such a father, it is not surprising that he made great progress. He was so persevering and laborious in his studies, that he has been called Adamantius, or *Χαλκέντερος* and *Συντάκτης*. There is no doubt, from his own writings, that he studied under Clemens Alexandrinus; and that he was also indebted to Ammonius Saccas, if we may believe Porphyry, who tells us that he made great proficiency in the knowledge of philosophy under that distinguished master.² The death of Leonides, who suffered martyrdom in 202, gave the son an opportunity of showing his steadfastness in the Christian faith. Though a youth of only sixteen or seventeen, he was anxious to die with his father; and when prevented by his mother, he sent a

¹ See Lardner's *Credib.* vol. ii. p. 469, who discards the idea of his being born of Gentile parents, as affirmed by Porphyry.

² Porphyry, *Ap. Euseb.* lib. vi. c. xix.; also Neander's *Church History*, and Lardner's *Credibility*.

letter to his father in prison, exhorting him to be steadfast in the faith and unsolicitous about his family.¹ His mother was left destitute, with six other children besides himself, all the father's property being confiscated. Origen met with a kind friend in the person of a rich and honourable lady of Alexandria, and in a short time he was able to supply his wants by teaching grammar. When only eighteen he was appointed master of the Catechetical² School by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria. He lived a life of poverty, feeding on the coarsest food, and sleeping on the ground. It is said that he was so destitute that he sold his large collection of pagan authors for an allowance of four oboli (about seven cents) per diem, which he considered enough to maintain him. His ascetic spirit was carried to such an extremity that, interpreting the passage in Matthew xix. 12, literally, he emasculated himself. It is but just, however, to state that he afterwards acknowledged that he had misunderstood the passage, and that it ought not to be taken in a literal sense. When he grew older, he became wiser also regarding martyrdom, and did not approve of exposing one's life unnecessarily; and as to meeting or avoiding

¹ Ἐπεχε, μὴ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἄλλο τι φρονήσῃς.—Euseb. lib. vi. c. ii.

² The office of catechist was to teach the catechumens (κατηχούμενοι), candidates for baptism. 'At Alexandria' says Neander, 'where it often happened that men of education, even the learned and those habituated to philosophical reflection, applied to receive instruction in Christianity, it was necessary that the catechists should be men of liberal education, qualified to meet the objections and doubts of pagans, and to follow them on their own position. Able and learned laymen were therefore selected here; and this class of catechists led afterwards to the formation of an important theological school among the Christians.'—*Church History*, vol. i. p. 417.

danger, he maintained that no rule could be laid down. Origen made many converts to Christianity, and became so celebrated for his learning, that he had many enemies and even persecutors, the chief of whom was Demetrius. In 215, during the persecution of Caracalla, he fled from Alexandria to Cæsarea in Palestine, and was so distinguished for his knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures that the bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem allowed him, though a layman, to expound the Scriptures before them in public. He then went back to Alexandria, afterwards to Arabia and to Achaia. He was ordained presbyter by Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, which gave great offence to Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria. From this time he became an object of hatred and envy to Demetrius, on account of his great reputation, who in the year 230 summoned two councils against him; the first banished Origen from Alexandria, and the second deprived him of his clerical office. Demetrius, however, died in 232, after which time Origen was greatly admired and beloved by all around him. He retired to Cæsarea, in Palestine, but during a persecution there he was obliged to flee. He was afterwards imprisoned, and had nearly suffered martyrdom. His sufferings in prison were so great that he never got the better of them, and though released, he is said to have died at Tyre in the year of our Lord 254 and the sixty-seventh year of his age. Origen was a very voluminous writer. 'It was long ago said of Origen,' writes Lardner, 'that he had written six thousand volumes. Jerome, however, is pleased to say, that

from the catalogue composed by Eusebius, it appears they did not amount to one-third of that number; but Eusebius's catalogue might not be complete; and according to different ways of computing books or volumes, the number may be very different.' Surely they must have been very small, if there were so many of them. He was a great expounder of Scripture, and is said to have written Commentaries on every book except the Revelation of St. John, many of which are lost. Those which remain are partly in the original Greek, and partly in the Latin translation of Rufinus. It would be going out of our way to give an account of all his writings extant. We shall therefore direct the reader's attention to those parts which more immediately concern our subject. By referring to his Commentaries on St. Matthew and St. John, we shall find what his opinions regarding baptism were. He devotes chap. xvii. of tom. vi. in Joan. to contrast the baptism of John the Baptist with that of our Saviour, showing that the former was a baptism of repentance preparatory to that which was to follow, and called a baptism of water, whereas that of our Saviour was a baptism of fire: Οὐ σωματικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνου βάπτισμα, τὸν μετανοοῦντα πληροῦντος ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ θειότερου πυρὸς πᾶν ὑλικὸν ἀφανίζοντος, καὶ πᾶν γεῶδες ἐξαναλίσκοντος.¹ He points out that a blessing would attend him who approaches baptism with true penitence, but condemnation to him who did

¹ 'Siquidem illius baptismus non est corporalis, eum resipiscntem repleat Spiritus Sanctus igne diviniore, quidquid vel materiale vel terrenum fuerit demoliente et consumente.'—Migne's *Curs. Complet. Orig.* tom. iv. p. 255.

not possess this qualification: Διδάσκων τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὠφέλειαν ἔχεισθαι τῆς προαιρέσεως τοῦ βαπτιζομένου, τῷ μετανοοῦντι μὲν ἐγγινομένην τῷ δὲ μὴ μετανοοῦντι προσίοντι εἰς κρίμα χαλεπώτερον ἐσομένην.¹ but that though many be baptised, regeneration does not belong to all: 'Ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσι μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγγινομένου. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγελίῳ.²

In this same chapter he calls baptism a symbol of the purification of the soul from uncleanness, but at the same time adds that it is the beginning of Divine gifts, on account of the power of the invocation of the adorable Trinity to him who received it properly. The text is : Καὶ το διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος λουτρὸν, σύμβολον τυγχάνον καθαρσίῃ ψυχῆς, πάντα ῥύπον ἀπὸ κακίας ἀποπλυνομένης, οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τῷ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ θειότητι τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος ἐπικλήσεων ἐστὶν ἡ χαρισμάτων θείων ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ.³ In his 'Commentary on Matthew,' he takes care to speak of the truly baptised as he who is born of water and of the Spirit from above: 'Ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος.⁴ Notwithstanding that Origen appears to have

¹ 'Nimirum docens utilitatem futuram baptismatis ei qui ex proposito baptizaretur, quæ ad resipiscentem perveniens, ei qui accederet non resipiscens, asperius iudicium futura esset' (*ibid.*). So also in his *Homily on Jeremiah* he calls the true baptism that of the Holy Ghost. See Homily II. sub finem.

² 'Sed non omnibus post aquam imprimitur, et ingeneratur. Et hæc quidem hactenus, quod ad inquisitionem attinet eorum quæ sunt in Evangelio secundum Matthæum.'—*Ibid.* p. 258.

³ 'Ita lavacrum aquæ, symbolum et nota existens purificationis animæ ablutæ ab omni sorde malitiæ, nihilominus, etiam ex se, esse principium ac fontem munerum divinorum, propter potentiam invocationum adorandæ Triadis, ei qui se exhibuerit deitati.'—*Ibid.*

⁴ 'Quicumque generatus fuerit superne ex aqua et spiritu.'—*Comment. in Matth.* tom. xv. c. xxiii. ; Migne, tom. iii. pp. 1321-2.

made a correct distinction between the outward ceremony and the inward grace, he seems to have thought there was some mystical property about the water and the performance of the ceremony. He plainly declares that children were baptised in his days. In his Homily on Leviticus he argues that, as all are born in sin, infants should be baptised : ‘ Addi his etiam illud potest, ut requiratur quid causæ sit, cum baptismum Ecclesiæ pro remissione peccatorum detur, secundum Ecclesiæ observantiam etiam parvulis baptismum dari ; cum utique si nihil esset in parvulis quod ad remissionem deberet et indulgentiam pertinere, gratia baptismi superflua videretur.’¹ In his ‘Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans’ he goes further, and whilst maintaining that baptism is not a mere symbol, but that there is a power and virtue in it which were handed down from the Apostles, and that those who are baptised are buried with Christ in baptism ; and that as Christ rose from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so also should those who are baptised walk in newness of life : ‘ Per quod ostendit, quia tunc, hoc est apostolorum temporibus, non, ut nunc fieri videmus, typus tantummodo mysteriorum his qui baptizabantur, sed virtus eorum ac ratio tradebatur, et tanquam scientibus et edoctis quia qui baptizantur in morte Christi baptizantur, et conspeliuntur ei per baptismum in mortem ; et quia sicut Christus surrexit a mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita in novitate vitæ ambulare debeant hi qui baptizati sunt.’²

¹ *In Levit. Homil. VIII. vol. ii. c. iii. p. 496.*

² *Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. vol. iv. lib. v. c. viii. p. 1040.* Neander, in treating on infant baptism, says : ‘ Origen, in whose system infant

Let us now see what were Origen's opinions regarding the Lord's Supper, which then went by the name of Eucharist. In his book against Celsus he defines the bread to be a symbol of our gratitude to God : "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχαριστίας, ἀρτὸς Εὐχαριστία καλούμενος."¹ In his 'Commentary on Psalm xxvii.' he strongly recommends partakers of the Lord's Supper to try and examine themselves before they come. In asking the question why so many are weak, he replies : 'Quoniam non seipsos dijudicant, neque seipsos examinant, nec intelligunt quid est communicare Ecclesiæ, vel quid est accedere ad tanta et tam eximia sacramenta.'² By which we may also learn the high opinion he had both of the Church and the Sacraments. In a Homily on Leviticus, when explaining that passage of the Apostle Paul about not giving place to the devil,³ he shows that the place is the mind, and that in receiving the Eucharist

baptism could readily find its place (referring to his peculiar theory about human souls), though not in the same connection as in the system of the North African church, declares it to be an apostolical tradition ; an expression, by the way, which cannot be regarded as of much weight in this age, when the inclination was so strong to trace every institution which was considered of special importance to the Apostles ; and when so many walls of separation, hindering the freedom of prospect, had already been set up between this and the apostolic age' (*Church History*, vol. i. p. 428). He further adds, in note 2 : 'In Origen's time, too, difficulties were still frequently urged against infant baptism, similar to those thrown out by Tertullian.' Compare his Homil. in *Luccam xiv.* (according to the *Transl.* of Jerome).

¹ *Contra Celsum*, lib. viii. c. lvii. : 'Atque hujus erga Deum grati animi symbolum nobis panis ille est qui Eucharistia vocatur.'—Migne, vol. i. p. 1604.

² Homil. II. in *Psalm xxvii.* ; Migne, vol. ii. p. 1386.

³ Ephes. iv. 27.

the mind should be pure and free from sin : ‘Locus ergo sanctus, anima est pura. In quo loco edere nobis mandatur cibum verbi Dei. Neque enim convenit ut sancta verba anima non sancta suscipiat ; sed cum purificaverit se ab omni inquinamento carnis et morum, tunc locus sanctus effecta cibum capiat panis illius qui de cœlo descendit.’¹ We learn, from a passage in a Homily on Exodus, that there was a peculiar regard paid to the consecrated elements, and that they ought to be received with great caution and reverence : ‘Volo vos admonere religionis vestræ exemplis : nostis qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuestis, quomodo cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur.’² Notwithstanding this high idea Origen had about the sacred elements, we shall see that he merely looked upon them as symbols, and perfectly distinguished between the spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ by faith and that carnal mode with which it began shortly to be confounded. In his Commentary on that passage in Matthew’s Gospel describing our Lord’s Last Supper, he says :³ ‘Panis iste quem Deus Verbus corpus suum esse fatetur, verbum est nutritorium animarum, verbum de Deo Verbo procedens, et panis de pane cœlesti, qui positus est super mensam, de qua scriptum est. “Præparasti in conspectu meo mensam

¹ *In Levit.* Homil. XIII. vol. ii. c. v. p. 551.

² Homil. *in Exod.* xiii. vol. ii. c. iii. p. 391. This corresponds very much with a passage in Tertullian’s *De Corona*.

³ Matt. xxvi. 26.

adversus eos qui tribulant me ! ”¹ Et potus iste quem Deus Verbum sanguinem suum fatetur, verbum est potans et inebrians præclare corda bibentium, qui est in poculo de quo scriptum est, “Et poculum tuum inebrians quam præclarum est ! ”² Et est potus iste generatio vitis veræ quæ dicit, “Ego sum vitis vera.”³ Et est sanguis uvæ illius, quæ missa in torcular passionis protulit potum hunc. Sic et panis est verbum Christi factum de tritico illo quod cadens in terram multum reddidit fructum. Non enim panem illum visibilem quem tenebat in manibus, corpus suum dicebat Deus Verbum, sed verbum in cujus mysterio fuerat panis ille frangendus. Nec potum illum visibilem sanguinem suum dicebat, sed verbum in cujus mysterio potus ille fuerat effundendus. Nam corpus Dei Verbi aut sanguis, quid aliud esse potest, nisi verbum quod nutrit, et verbum quod lætificat cor ? Cur autem non dixit : Hic est panis novi testamenti, sicut dixit, “Hic est sanguis novi testamenti ? ” Quoniam panis est verbum justitiæ, quam manducantes animæ nutriuntur : potus autem est verbum agnitionis Christi, secundum mysterium ejus nativitatis et passionis. Quoniam ergo testamentum Dei in sanguine passionis Christi positum est ad nos, ut credentes filium Dei natum et passum secundum carnem, salvi afficiamur non in justitia, in qua sola sine fide passionis Christi salus esse non poterat ; ideo tantum de calice dictum est : *Hic est Calix* novi testamenti.’⁴ We have given the whole of this passage to show that Origen understood the bread and

¹ Psalm xxiii. 5.² *Ibid.*³ John xv. 1.⁴ *Comment. in Matth.* c. lxxxv. p. 1734, vol. iii.

wine to be taken in a figurative and spiritual sense. His quoting the text "I am the true vine" ('Ego sum vitis vera') puts this beyond all doubt, so we may conclude the carnal idea of its being his real body and blood had no place at this time amongst the Fathers. Moreover, at the close of the above citation he calls the bread 'verbum justitiæ,' and the cup 'verbum agnitionis Dei,' and that it is only by believing in his birth and passion ('ut credentes Filium Dei natum et passum secundum carnem salvi afficiamur') that we can be saved. We would notice this particularly because it so harmonizes with the doctrines of the Church of England, 'Feeding by faith in Christ with thanksgiving,' and also that saying which so offended the Jews when they exclaimed, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" to which Our Saviour replied, "The words that I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life;"¹ in fact, that it must be spiritually discerned. If the reader requires further proof that Origen explains these passages in a spiritual sense, we would refer him to his 'Commentary on Matthew,' where he distinguishes between the carnal and spiritual sense, and uses these remarkable words: 'Secundum orationem autem quæ illi accessit, juxta proportionem fidei, utilis fit, afficitque ut perspicax fiat animus, spectans ad id quod prodest; nec panis materia, sed super eum prolata oratio, ea est quæ illum juvat, qui non indigne Deo hunc comedit. *Et hæc quidem de typico et symbolico corpore.*'²

¹ John vi. 52, 63.

² *In Matth.* vol. iii. tom. xi. c. xiv. pp. 950, 951. We subjoin also the Greek text: Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς

Before taking leave of Origen, we would notice that one of the great faults of many of the Fathers was a philosophizing and speculative spirit, which led them to hold doctrines not revealed in Scripture, and sometimes contrary to it. Origen was not free from this spirit, and has been, not unjustly, accused of heresy. It would lead us out of our way to enter into any detail on this subject. We would simply state that his work 'De Principiis' (Περὶ Ἀρχῶν) has given the chief cause for this accusation. It is there where he shows his peculiar notions. The points on which he is said to have been unsound are four, viz. : 1st. That the souls of men had existed in a previous state, and that their imprisonment in material bodies was a punishment for sins which they had then committed. 2nd. That the human soul of Christ had also previously existed, and been united to the Divine nature before that incarnation of the Son of God which is related in the gospels. 3rd. That our material bodies shall be transformed into absolutely ethereal ones at the resurrection. 4th. That all men, and even devils, shall be finally restored through the mediation of Christ. This last seems to inculcate the non-eternity of punishment, a doctrine so much held in the present day.

πίστεως, ὡφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἰτίον διαβλέψεως ὁρῶντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν· καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἀρτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἰστὶν ὁ ὠελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ Κυριοῦ ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ τυπικοῦ καὶ συμβολικοῦ σώματος.

CYPRIAN.

Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus is supposed to have been born at Carthage, in Africa, about the year 200, of heathen parents. He was converted to Christianity rather late in life by a presbyter, Cæcilius, whose name he took, as we learn from St. Jerome, who also tells us he was a distinguished teacher of rhetoric.¹ Cyprian, in his 'Epistle to Donatus,' gives an interesting account of his conversion, which took place about 245. As he suffered martyrdom in 258, his Christian career must have been short, but it was very brilliant. Fabricius thought he was a distinguished pleader at the bar, from his having lived in great affluence; but Lardner thinks he was not justified in forming this opinion.² After his conversion Cyprian seems to have literally followed the example of the early Christians by selling his estate and distributing the proceeds to the poor, and this, his historian Pontius tells, was before he was baptized.³ So rapid was his increase in Christian knowledge, that he was made a presbyter in a very short time, some think as early as 246, but Pearson puts it down a year later, viz. 247.⁴ It is not quite certain in what year he was raised to the episcopate, but it is generally believed to have been in 248 or 249. Without mentioning the date, Pontius says, 'He was still a neophyte, and as it was

¹ *De Vir. Illustr.* c. lxvii.

² Lardner's *Credib.* vol. iii. p. 4.

³ Clark's *Translation of Cyprian's Works*, vol. i. p. xv.

⁴ Pearson, *Annal. Cypr.* pp. 8, 9.

considered, a novice.' He was elected Bishop of Carthage against his own inclination,¹ by the general consent of the people. There were some of the presbyters who resisted his appointment, and afterwards gave him a good deal of trouble.² There were several persecutions during his episcopate; and being very much disliked by the heathen, who often demanded that he should be thrown to the lions, he was obliged to flee, not from fear, but, as he tells us, in harmony with the will of his Lord and Master. During his exile it is said he wrote thirty-nine Epistles, which are still extant. He returned again to Carthage, but was afterwards banished. Indeed his whole career was that of activity and struggle, till at last he was beheaded on the field of Sexti, for confessing his Redeemer. Various are the opinions expressed both as regards his talents and his character. St. Augustine speaks highly of him, and calls him a most agreeable writer and a blessed martyr. Considering that Cyprian was only twelve years a Christian, during which he was actively engaged in other duties, it is wonderful that he wrote so much as he did. His works are divided into Treatises and Epistles. The former are on various subjects, and show great knowledge of the Scriptures, but much less scholarship than many of the Fathers. He was very fond of Tertullian, and used to read a portion of his writings every day. He had not the time to become either a theologian or a profound scholar. No doubt he had great oratorical powers, and was a thorough man of business. He is considered by

¹ *Life and Passion of Cyprian*, vol. i. p. xvii.

² Pearson's *Annal. Cypri.* 251, n. 3; and Lardner's *Credib.* p. 6.

Roman Catholics and Ritualists as the great champion of the Church in those days. Being endowed with great intrepidity and energy of character, as we shall see, he valiantly defended the episcopal power, of which he held very high ideas. 'Of the Latin writers of this century,' says Mosheim, '*Cyprian*, bishop of Carthage, deservedly stands first. The Epistles and Tracts of this distinguished and eloquent man breathe such a spirit of ardent piety, that scarcely any one can read them without feeling his soul stirred within him. Yet *Cyprian* would doubtless have been a better writer if he had been less studious of rhetorical ornaments, and a better bishop if he had been more capable of controlling his temper and of discriminating between truth and error.'¹ We shall now proceed to lay before the reader Cyprian's opinions on the various points that concern our subject. He speaks of baptism as a quickening to newness of life, as a washing away of sins,² a deliverance from death,³ and no doubt held that there is a mystical property in the water when consecrated. In his Epistle to Januarius and other bishops, when treating of baptising heretics, he says: 'It is required then, that the water should first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may wash away by its baptism the sins of the man who is baptized;' and then applies literally that passage of Ezekiel, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be cleansed from all your filthiness," &c.⁴

¹ Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, vol. i. p. 237: London, 1845.

² *Epist. I. ad Donatum*, Clark's *Translation*, vol. i. p. 3, §§ 3, 4; also Ep. 22, p. 66; Ep. 75, p. 310; vol. ii. p. 2.

³ *Ad Anton.* vol. i. p. 145, § 22.

⁴ Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, 26; Clark's *Transl.* vol. i. p. 251.

(‘Oportet ergo mundari et sanctificari aquam prius a sacerdote, ut possit baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere’¹). The exaltation of baptism and the priestly power seemed to go hand in hand. In treating against the heretics using water for the Lord’s Supper,² Cyprian affirms that every passage in Scripture where water is named alone refers to baptism, and by overstrained quotations from the Old and New Testament he professes to show this, even that passage in St. John where our Saviour said to the Samaritan woman, “Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall not thirst for ever,”³ whereas we think it simply refers to believing in Him.

In this same chapter he says, ‘For by baptism the Holy Spirit is received’ (‘Per baptismum enim Spiritus Sanctus accipitur’).⁴ Notwithstanding these expressions, which we think are unguarded, and likely to lead men astray, we cannot bring ourselves to the conviction that Cyprian believed in a pure *opus operatum*, for in other passages he limits the terms of baptism; for instance, in his ‘Testimonies against the Jews’⁵ he shows that a man must be born of water and of the Spirit, which seems to indicate that the Spirit was not always given. In contending against the heretics he maintains that they have not the Holy Spirit, which is only in the Church; and that if they have it not they cannot give it.⁶ Now, in reasoning on this, if an unbelieving priest had not the Holy Spirit, he could not give it, and therefore the

¹ Oxonii, 1682, p. 190.

² John iv. 14.

³ Vol. ii. c. xxv. p. 163.

⁴ *Ad Ceciliam*, c. viii. p. 213, vol. i.

⁵ Oxonii, p. 151.

⁶ *Epist. ad Magnum*, vol. i. c. ii. p. 311.

baptism would become void. But Cyprian further limits baptism because he shows that faith was not only necessary in the giver but also in the receiver. In this same Epistle he maintains that the baptism of the sick by sprinkling is valid. After citing different passages from the Old Testament about sprinkling, he adds : ‘ Whence it appears that the sprinkling also of water prevails equally with the washing of salvation; and that when this is done *in the church, where the faith both of the receiver and giver is sound*, all things hold and may be consummated and perfected by the majesty of the Lord and by the truth of faith :’¹ (‘ Unde apparet aspersionem quoque aquæ, instar salutaris lavacri obtinere; et quando hæc in Ecclesia sunt, ubi sit et dantis et accipientis fides integra, stare omnia et consummari ac perfici posse majestate Domini, et fidei veritate ’).² We would notice, by the way, that this doctrine of Cyprian’s is not sound, for it would be very hard for the believer in baptism, if the effect was limited by the want of faith on the part of the giver ; hence the Twenty-sixth Article in the Church of England : ‘ Neither is the effect of Christ’s ordinance taken away by their (ministers’) wickedness, nor the grace of God’s gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them.’ Cyprian taught that baptism profited nothing unless it was followed by good works, and that a man might fall away from the grace he had received in baptism by sinning against God.³ By his letter to

¹ Epistle 75, vol. i. p. 312.

² *Oxonii Epist.* 69, p. 186.

³ *Testimonies against the Jews*, vol. ii. part iii. cc. xxvi. xxvii. pp. 163, 164.

Fidus, No. 58, in which he discusses the question whether an infant should be baptised before the eighth day of its birth, or on the eighth day, after the manner of the circumcision of the Jews, we learn that the custom in his time was to baptise infants ; and it is not improbable that as the Church approved of sprinkling the sick instead of immersing them, so this was gradually adopted in the case of infants on account of their tender age. As we have already seen Cyprian distinctly held that perfect remission of sins took place at baptism, and that there was only one baptism, he must have been at a loss to comprehend how sins committed after baptism were remitted, and was obliged to have recourse to some other expedient. He therefore taught they were remitted by alms-giving. He devotes a book to this subject, ‘De Opere et Eleemosynis,’ in which we find the following passage: ‘Nor would the infirmity and weakness of human frailty have any resource, unless the Divine mercy, coming once more in aid, should open some way of securing salvation by pointing out works of justice and mercy, *so that by alms-giving we may wash away whatever foulness we subsequently contract.* The Holy Spirit speaks in the Sacred Scriptures and says, “*By alms-giving and faith sins are purged.*”¹ Not assuredly those sins which had been previously con-

¹ Prov. xv. 27 (Sept.): ‘Eleemosynis et fide delicta purgantur.’ The rendering of this passage in the Authorised Version is different, and ends thus: ‘By mercy and truth iniquity is purged’ (Prov. xvi. 6). The words used by Cyprian are to be found in the Septuagint, but, curious to say, they do not exist in the Hebrew version. Brenton, in his translation of the Septuagint, puts them in a parenthesis, and writes on the margin opposite, ‘Observe this is not in the Hebrew, nor any such doctrine.’

tracted, for those are purged by the blood and sanctification of Christ.' Moreover, he says again, '*As water extinguisheth fire, so alms-giving quencheth sin!*'¹ Here, also, it is shown and proved, that as in the laver of saving water the fire of Gehenna is extinguished, *so by alms-giving and works of righteousness the flame of sins is subdued.* And because in baptism remission of sins is granted once for all, *constant and ceaseless labour, following the likeness of baptism, once again bestows the mercy of God.*' Then he goes on to show that our Saviour taught the same doctrine, quoting that passage "He that made that which is within made also that which is without. But give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you ;"² and finishes by saying 'He who is pitiful teaches and warns us that pity must be shown ; and because He seeks to save those whom at a great cost He has redeemed, *He teaches that those who, after the grace of baptism, have become foul, may once more be cleansed.*' As we think the soundness of doctrine, as thus taught by Cyprian, is very much in question, we give the Latin words, that the reader may judge for himself. We quote from Migne, which is identical with the Oxford edition : '*Nec haberet quid fragilitatis humanæ infirmitas atque imbecilitas faceret, nisi iterum pietas divina subveniens, justitiæ et misericordiæ operibus ostensis, viam quamdam tuendæ salutis aperiret, ut sordes postmodum, quascumque contrahimus eleemosynis ablueamus. Loquitur in Scripturis divinis Spiritus sanctus et dicit : Eleemosynis et fide delicta purgantur (Prov. xv. 27).*

¹ Ecclus. iii. 30.² Luke xi. 41.

Non utique illa delicta quæ fuerant ante contracta, nam illa Christi sanguine et sanctificatione purgantur. Item denuo dicit, *Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, sic eleemosyna extinguit peccatum* (*Ecclus. iii. 30*). Hic quoque ostenditur et probatur quia, sicut lavacro aquæ salutaris Gehennæ ignis extinguitur, *ita et eleemosynis atque operationibus justis delictorum flamma sopitur*. Et quia semel in baptismo remissa peccatorum datur, *assidua et jugis operatio baptismi instar imitata, Dei rursus indulgentiam largitur*. . . . Misericors docet et monet misericordiam fieri ; et quia servare quærit quos magno pretio redemit, *post baptismi gratiam sordidatos docet denuo posse purgari*.¹ By the doctrine thus taught we

¹ *Curs. Complet. Cyprian.* p. 603. We may here remark that the works of Cyprian have been translated in the *Library of the Fathers*, under the editorship of Dr. Pusey and others. The volume containing this treatise has the well-known initials at the end of the preface, J. H. N. The editor, at the beginning, remarks: 'The Homily on alms-deeds supports its own doctrine by it,' and in a note gives a long quotation from the Homily, of which the following is a portion: 'But some will say unto me, if our alms-giving and our charitable works towards the poor be able to wash away sins, to reconcile us to God, to deliver us from the peril of damnation, and make us the sons and heirs of God's kingdom, then are Christ's merits defaced and his blood shed in vain; then are we justified by works, and by our deeds may we merit heaven; then do we in vain believe that Christ died to put away our sins, and that He rose for our justification, as St. Paul teacheth. But ye shall understand, dearly beloved, that neither those places of the Scripture before alleged, neither the doctrine of the blessed martyr Cyprian, neither any other godly and learned man, when they, in extolling the dignity, profit, fruit, and effect of virtuous and liberal alms, do say that it washeth away sins and bringeth us to the favour of God, do mean that our work and charitable deed is the original cause of our acceptation before God, or that for the dignity or worthiness thereof our sins may be washed away, and we purged and cleansed of all the spots of our iniquity; for that were indeed to deface Christ, and to defraud Him of his glory,' &c. We entirely agree with the doctrine taught in the above Homily, but not with the inference drawn concerning Cyprian by the author of it. See *Library of the Fathers*, vol. iii. pp. 231, 232, and note a (Oxford, 1839).

can understand what Mosheim refers to in the passage lately quoted about Cyprian *not discriminating between truth and error*. Neander, in treating of baptism, points out that it was by confounding the inward grace and the outward sign that the Fathers of this century were led to confine the forgiveness of sins obtained through Christ only to those sins which had been committed before baptism, and then to introduce the doctrine that by exercises of penitence and good works sins committed after baptism were blotted out. He refers to Tertullian's work 'De Pœnitentia ;' and after quoting a portion of the above passage from Cyprian, he adds : ' Here, if we only add what was remarked on an earlier page on the subject of sacerdotal absolution, we have the germ of the Catholic doctrine respecting the sacrament of penance.'¹ Cyprian having such high ideas concerning baptism, we must be prepared to find equally high notions regarding the Lord's Supper. One of his Epistles to Cæcilius, 62 (Oxford edit. 63), is devoted to prove that wine and water should be used, and not water, in the Communion. Here we have such expressions as *this sacrifice* (*sacrificii hujus*), *offering the cup* (*calice offerendo*), *sacrament of the cup* (*sacramentum calicis*).² In the early part of this book we showed that in the New Testament there is no such word as *altar*, *priest* (*sacerdos*), *sacrifice*, ever applied to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Now we find them all applied in the works of Cyprian to this solemn

¹ *Church History*, vol. ii. pp. 424, 425, and n. 4.

² This word *sacramentum* is translated in Pusey's *Library of the Fathers* by 'mystery' or 'mystical meaning,' as at the beginning of the Epist.

ordinance. Cyprian had very high ideas of the church and his office as a priest, which he strenuously maintained against the heretics, and even against his own presbyters, who were, as it were, entirely under his own control, though he does say that he never took any step of importance without consulting them and even his lay brethren. He is not always logical in his reasoning, as we have already noticed, maintaining that the faith of the priest was necessary for the effect of the sacrament, as well as that of the receiver; but by exalting both baptism and the Lord's Supper out of their due place, he was gradually paving the way to the full belief in the doctrine of the *opus operatum* of the one and the mystical properties of the other. His high sacramentarian notions are so mixed up with the dignity and honour of what he calls the Priesthood, that it is impossible to separate them. We shall therefore refer to certain passages to explain what we mean. In the 'Epistle to Rogatianus,' 64 (Oxford edit. 3), who complained of his deacon having rebelled against him, he says: 'And you indeed have acted worthily, and with your accustomed humility towards us, in rather complaining of him to us; although you have power, *according to the vigour of the episcopate, and the authority of your throne* (pro episcopatus vigore et cathedræ auctoritate), whereby you might be justified on him at once, assured that all we your colleagues would regard it as a matter of satisfaction, whatever you should do *by your priestly power* (sacerdotali potestate) in respect of an insolent deacon, as you have in respect of men of this kind

Divine commands, inasmuch as the Lord God says in Deuteronomy, "And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest or the judge, whoever he shall be in those days, that man shall die ; and all the people, when they hear, shall fear, and shall no more do impiously."'¹ Then he goes on to refer to what happened in the case of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and to other passages of Scripture, to justify his opinion. Towards the end he again breaks forth : ' But deacons ought to remember that *the Lord chose apostles, that is, bishops and overseers* (id est, episcopus et præpositos) ; *while apostles appointed for themselves deacons* after the ascent of the Lord into heaven, as ministers of their episcopacy and of the Church. But if we may dare anything against God *who makes bishops*, deacons may also dare against us *by whom they are made* ; and therefore it behoves the deacon of whom you write to repent of his audacity, and to acknowledge the honour of the priest, and to satisfy the bishop set over him with full humility. . . . But, if further, he shall harass or provoke you with his insults, you must exercise against him the power of your dignity, by either deposing him or excommunicating him.' Cyprian ignores the fact that it was the multitude that chose the deacons, and the apostles ordained them.² In the above passage we would notice a specimen of priestly arrogance in the expression that God makes bishops, but bishops make deacons ; whereas, if they are both called by God's Holy Spirit to their

¹ Deut. xvii. 12, 13.² See Acts vi. 3.

office, as we presume all right bishops and deacons are, they are both equally appointed by God. Moreover, this is contradictory to what Cyprian writes himself. For instance, in the 39th Epistle (Oxford edit. 43), addressed to the People, p. 106, we read, ‘against my episcopate, yea *against your suffrage*’ (contra episcopatum meum, immo contra suffragium vestrum). And again, in Epistle 54, p. 165 (Oxford edit. 59), we read, ‘When he (the bishop) is chosen in time of peace *by the suffrage of an entire people*’ (quando populi universi suffragio in pace deligitur). We learn from the above that the power of choosing a bishop was still lingering with the people, notwithstanding what Cyprian says about God’s choosing *apostles, that is, bishops*. In that cutting and sarcastic Epistle 68 (Oxford edit. 66), addressed to Florentius Pupianus, who had accused him of various crimes, after referring to our Saviour’s question to Peter before he forsook him, *Will ye also go away?* and Peter’s answer *To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life, &c.*, he adds : ‘Peter speaks there on whom the Church was to be built, teaching and showing in the name of the Church, that although a rebellious and arrogant multitude of those who will not hear and obey may depart, yet the Church does not depart from Christ ; *and they are the Church who are a people united to the priest, and the flock which adheres to its pastor*. Whence you ought to know that *the bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the bishop* ; and if anyone be not with the bishop, that he is not in the Church, and that those flatter themselves in vain who creep in, not having peace with God’s

priests, and think that they communicate secretly with some; while the Church, which is catholic and one, is not cut nor divided, but is indeed connected and bound together *by the cement of priests* who cohere with one another.' He then begs him to seek repentance¹ for his temerity, pride, and insolence, make satisfaction to God and his Christ (*Deo et Christo ejus plenissime satisfeceris*), when he may perhaps receive him into communion with the Church; but before doing so he should consult his Lord. This is so much like the style of Ignatius that one might imagine one was reading a portion of his Epistles. We may infer from the latter part that Cyprian believed himself to be under the direct influence of God, in fact inspired. In his 'Epistle to the Lapsed,' 26 (Oxford edit. 33), he maintains the power of the keys handed down to the Church by apostolic descent. After quoting that passage of our Saviour addressed to Peter, *Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church, &c.*, he writes: 'Thence, through the changes of times and successions, the ordering of bishops and the plan of the Church flows onwards; so that *the Church is founded upon the bishops*, and every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers.'² Since this, then, is founded on the Divine law, I marvel that some, with daring temerity, have chosen to write to me as if they wrote in the name of the Church; when the Church is established in the bishop and the clergy, and all who stand (fast in the

¹ 'Do penance' in Pusey's *Translation*.

² 'Prelates' (*præpositos*) in Oxford ed.

faith).'¹ There was a very warm discussion between Cyprian and Stephen, pope or bishop of Rome, whether heretics should be rebaptised or not. Stephen thought they ought not to be rebaptised, whereas Cyprian thought they ought. The 73rd Epistle² is addressed to Pompeius, in answer to a request to let him know what answer Stephen had given to a letter written to him by Cyprian. We here see that he calls Stephen his brother, and that they were both bishops; he accuses him of being in error (not infallible), and also being arrogant and contradictory in his letter. He says: 'For among other things arrogant or extraneous or self-contradictory, which he wrote without due instruction and caution, he moreover added this' ('Nam inter cætera vel superba, vel ad rem non pertinentia, vel sibi ipsi contraria, quæ imperite atque improvide scripsit, etiam illud adjunxit ut diceret'):³ '*If then any shall come to you from any heresy whatsoever,*⁴ be

¹ Some of the ritualists of the present day go beyond this, and maintain that the Church consists of the bishops and clergy only. See *Church and the World*, Ser. i. p. 238.

² Oxford ed. 74.

³ Oxford edition.

⁴ 'Si quis ergo a quacumque hæresi venerit *ad vos*.' The Oxford edition has *nos*, which seems to have no sense when we consider that it was written by Stephen to Cyprian. Pusey's *Translation* has a note to this word 'vos,' Bal. from seven old MSS. This also seems the 'arrogance' of which St. C. had just spoken, that Stephen wrote authoritatively, whereas St. C. asserts the independent responsibility of each bishop, and writes to and of the Bishop of Rome as a 'brother' (frater, for which MSS., as Bal. observes, according to the modern usage, often substitute pater, &c.). St. Augustine often implies that they were on equal terms, thinking only that a subsequent decision of the Universal Church had reversed St. Cyprian's judgment. Thus *De Baptis. c. Petit. c. xiv.*: 'There were two bishops of most eminent churches, the Roman, namely, and Carthaginian, Stephen and Cyprian, both abiding in catholic unity; of whom

there no innovations, beyond what has been handed down, namely that hands be laid on such to repentance ; since those who are properly heretics do not baptise such as come to them from one another, but only admit them to communion' (Pusey's *Translation*). Cyprian goes on to examine this tradition, whether it comes from the Gospels or the writings of the Apostles, and speaks of Stephen in a very free way (quite unlike any deference paid to the Bishop of Rome of the present day), in the following words : ' Truly an excellent and legitimate tradition is propounded by our brother Stephen's teaching, supplying us with an adequate authority ! ' Again, he says : ' It happeneth, however, through a love of presumption and obstinacy, that men will maintain their own propositions, though erroneous and false, rather than yield to what is right and true, but another's.' . . . ' For it behoves a bishop not only to teach, but also to learn ; because he teaches better, who daily increases and advances by learning better.'

The following quotation from the same Epistle will show that Cyprian did not believe in the doctrine of the *opus operatum*, though he seems to surmise that Stephen believed it. ' Or if they attribute the effect of baptism to the majesty of the name, so that they who are wheresoever and howsoever baptised in the name of Jesus Christ must be deemed to be renewed and

Stephen judged that the baptism of Christ was in no case to be repeated, and was heavily displeased with those who so did. But Cyprian thought that those baptised in heresy or schism, as not having the baptism of Christ, were to be baptised in the catholic Church. Many thought with Stephen, some also with Cyprian ; both with them, abiding in unity.'

—Page 260, n. 1.

sanctified, why should not also hands be by them laid on the person baptised, in the name of the same Christ, for the receiving of the Holy Ghost.' (Pusey's *Trans.* pp. 260-7.)

We have quoted enough to show that the episcopate of Cyprian must have been of a very stormy character. At one time he was rebuking a brother bishop of his own standing;¹ at another reproving the presumption of some of his own presbyters;² at a third recommending that a rebellious deacon should be excommunicated.³ Then we read of Stephen (bishop of Rome) calling Cyprian *a false Christ, a false apostle, a deceitful worker*,⁴ and rejecting communion with him.⁵ It is impossible to read the works of Cyprian without being convinced that he was an ardent and zealous Christian, and that wherever he thought either the truth or his dignity was at stake, he defended it with that fiery spirit of which he was possessed. He was a thorough disciplinarian in every sense of the term, but sometimes carried that spirit rather too far, and had too high a sense of the priestly power. We may easily conceive to what extremes such ideas might be carried when possessed by one who had not the counteracting principle of true humility. Whenever he is defending the power of the bishop he ransacks the Old Testament to find texts suited to his purpose, putting himself entirely in the position of a sacrificing priest, and by this means to point out the submission and veneration

¹ Ep. 73, p. 279.

² Ep. 9, p. 37.

³ Ep. 64, pp. 225-8.

⁴ Ep. 74, p. 302.

⁵ Ep. 73, p. 283.

due to the office.¹ In his time we see the laity had well nigh lost their power, though they are sometimes represented as giving their suffrages in the choice of a bishop, or giving their assent by being present. There was also a complete division between the power of the bishop and that of the presbyters, though he did not hesitate to consult them on any step of importance he was about to take. For instance, in his 'Epistle to the Presbyters and Deacons,' 5 (Oxford edit. 14), towards the end, he says: 'From the commencement of my episcopacy I made up my mind to do nothing on my own private opinion, without your advice and without the consent of the people' ('*A primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro et sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere*').

There were two grand points of discussion between the bishops in Cyprian's time, in which he took a leading part. One was the deposition of two bishops in Spain, Basilides and Martialis, for being defiled with idolatrous sacrifices, to which deposition, it is said, they agreed. Some time after a successor to Basilides had been appointed, they applied to Stephen (pope or bishop of Rome) to reinstate them, which he did; whereupon Cyprian wrote a letter, 67 (Oxford edit. 67), in the name of several other bishops, to Felix the presbyter of Leon (Legio), and to the peoples there and at Astorga (Asturica), and to Lælius the deacon, and the people at Merida (Emerita), commending them for having lawfully chosen Sabinus and Felix in their

¹ Ep. 64, p. 226; Oxford ed. 3.

place, and strongly advising them to have no communion with profane and polluted priests. The second question was the rebaptism of heretics. Cyprian held very strong and decided opinions on this point, and, as we have seen, did not hesitate to declare, in several Epistles, that heretics ought to be baptised in joining the Church, as he did not consider their baptism to be valid.¹ Stephen, on the contrary, thought they ought not to be baptised, as we have already shown. Cyprian, moreover, called two councils at Carthage. After the first council, Cyprian wrote to Stephen, not only in his own name, but in that of his fellow-bishops, to say that they considered the baptism of heretics no baptism, and therefore they ought, in being received into the Church, to be baptised.² Stephen wrote back an arrogant and presumptuous letter (from which we have already quoted),³ condemning the decrees of the African council. Cyprian convoked another council at Carthage, still larger than the preceding one, at which eighty-seven bishops were present. This council assembled in 256, and is called the Seventh

¹ See Ep. 70 (Oxford ed. 71); Ep. 71 (Oxford ed. 72); Ep. 73 (Oxford ed. 74); Ep. 74 (Oxford ed. 75).

² In this letter a rather obscure passage has given rise to a good deal of discussion: 'For then finally can they be fully sanctified, and be sons of God, *if they be born of each sacrament.*' Cyprian contended that heretics could not give the Holy Ghost, because they did not possess it; and there is little doubt but he referred to their receiving the Holy Ghost when they were baptized by the ministers of the Church, and therefore the meaning must be that by *each sacrament* is water and the Holy Ghost. That this is the meaning appears more plainly by his comparing the heretics to those who had received John's baptism. (See Ep. 72, p. 274.)

³ See p. 216.

Council of Carthage. The judgment of these bishops on this subject is still extant. The council is stated to have consisted of a great many bishops from the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, together with the presbyters and deacons, and a considerable part of the congregation. Cyprian begins by referring to a letter written to him by Jubaianus about baptising heretics, and his reply, with another from Jubaianus ;¹ and then, after rebuking the arrogance of Stephen, who set himself up as a bishop of bishops, he finishes by begging them to wait for the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹

¹ For an account of this council, see Clark's *Trans.* vii. p. 199.

SUMMARY.

IN examining into the sacerdotal theory, we have seen that the word *priest* (*ιερεὺς* or *sacerdos*) is never once used in the New Testament in a sacerdotal sense, when applied to God's ministers. But it is used for Jewish and Pagan priests, and also in speaking of our Saviour, who is the Great High Priest, prefigured by the Jewish priests. It is also used, in a spiritual sense, of all true believers. The word *priest*, derived from *πρεσβύτερος* (*presbyter* or *elder*), is perfectly lawful when applied to God's ministers, and used in this sense. It is the using the word *priest* in a sacerdotal sense, and also in that of *elder*, which has caused great confusion in many people's minds. The word *πρεσβύτερος* in the Authorised Version of the New Testament is always translated 'elder,' and though the word *priest* has been retained in the Book of Common Prayer, it is only in the sense of *presbyter* or *elder*. It is of the greatest consequence that there should be a clear understanding of the two different meanings of the word *priest*. There is no doubt but ministers are priests in the sense in which all believers are, provided they are of that number, but in this sense only, and when they offer up prayer, in behalf of the Church or congregation, they offer a spiritual sacrifice. The chief purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to be

to prevent the Jewish converts from depending upon their rites and ceremonies as a means of atonement, and to show that these were all done away in Christ Jesus, who offered Himself once for all for the sins of the whole world. We have also seen that the words *θυσία* (sacrifice) and *θυσιαστήριον* (altar) are never used in the New Testament, except when applied literally to Jewish or Pagan sacrifices, and to Christ's death, which was to put an end to all other sacrifices, and in a spiritual sense to the services of all believers. These words are never used when applied to the Lord's Supper. So also, as there was to be no sacrificing priest, no sacrifice, no altar in a sacerdotal sense, the temple also was to be done away. The temple we read of was the body of our Saviour, in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily. The believer's body is also called the temple of God. "Know ye not," says the Apostle, "that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you; if any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."¹ In the early days of Christianity there was no such distinction as clergy and laity, spiritual and secular, but they were all called brethren. We find it first introduced in the Epistle attributed to Clement, where the layman is told to confine himself to his bounds, implying that he had some duties to perform in the church. It is very unlikely, however, that such a distinction should have been made so soon after the time of the Apostles. We are therefore inclined to think that this Epistle was

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.

either not written by Clement of Rome, or that it was interpolated, about the end of the second or beginning of the third century, for a well-known hierarchical purpose. It is now generally admitted that the words *ἐπίσκοπος* (bishop) and *πρεσβύτερος* (elder) were synonymous terms, as we have shown from Scripture and Clement's Epistle; that the distinction gradually arose as the hierarchical spirit increased, till at last the bishops assumed the place of the Apostles. It is also manifest that the ruling power existed in the community, as has been proved by referring to the Epistle of Clement and the pseudo-Epistles of Ignatius, the very object of the former being to quiet dissensions and to blame the community for having acted harshly in deposing one of their ministers. Ignatius, in his 'Epistle to the Smyr-næans,' asks them to send a delegate to Antioch to congratulate the church there on its state of peace, and in his 'Epistle to the Philadelphians' begs them to ordain some deacon to go to Antioch. Polycarp also, in his 'Epistle to the Philippian Church,' entreats them to take back Valens and his wife, who had been deposed for misconduct; all which would be unintelligible if the laity had not had the governing power in the church in those days. The hierarchical spirit of the Church is manifest in the writings of Hermas, when, under two figures, viz. that of a Matron and a Tower, the Church is distinctly said to be represented, and where the Apostles and bishops and ministers figure as the square white stones that fitted exactly in the building.¹ A very

¹ Very like a passage of Ignatius about the harp and its strings (see p. 59).

prominent place is given more than once to water, which Archbishop Wake always explains by baptism. The tower is said to be built on water, because man is saved by water ; but as water is a very movable and insecure material to rest upon, if the tower had not had some more solid foundation than this, it would soon have fallen ; so will baptism profit little unless it is founded on faith in the Rock of Ages. Again, men are represented as dead before going down into the water, but in coming up appointed unto life, all which tended to the doctrine of the *opus operatum* and the forming of a Church from without rather than from within.

Justin Martyr had very confused ideas of man's sinfulness by nature ; and though he seems to admit that faith was necessary for baptism, yet from an unguarded way of speaking he confounds baptism and illumination, whereas illumination, to make baptism effectual, must take place before.

Irenæus, in like manner, confounds baptism and regeneration, going so far as to say that Christ gave his disciples the power of regeneration—certainly a most dangerous doctrine. If baptism and regeneration signified the same thing in the time of the Apostle Paul, we would ask, is it likely that he would ever have said, in writing to the church at Corinth, “I thank God that I baptized (regenerated) none of you but Crispus and Gaius” ?¹

Clemens Alexandrinus goes a step further, and says, ‘Being baptised, we are illuminated ;’ and yet, in another place, he puts both faith and repentance before baptism.

¹ 1 Cor. i. 14.

Tertullian, though he speaks of baptism as remission of sins, as regeneration and the gift of the Holy Ghost, devotes a whole chapter to show the necessity of repentance, accompanied by amendment of life, previous to baptism. In another treatise he maintains the necessity of faith before baptism, and that it ought neither to be conferred nor received too rashly ; that delay should be attended to, especially in the case of little children, lest the sponsors should be thrust into danger. All this shows that the doctrine of the *opus operatum* was becoming more general in its reception, and that some in his days baptised infants, though he does not seem to have approved of their doing it.

Origen had some sound views regarding baptism, but thought there was some mysterious property about the water and the performance of the ceremony. He held that baptism is a blessing to him who approaches it with true penitence, but condemnation to him who does not. He calls it a symbol of purification, but that it is the beginning of Divine gifts, which seems very contradictory. He maintained that, though many are baptised, regeneration does not belong to all, but that he only is truly baptised who is born of water and of the Spirit from above. He advocated infant baptism, because all are born in sin ; that baptism is not a mere symbol, but that there is a power and virtue in it, handed down from the Apostles.

Cyprian not only confounded baptism and regeneration, but confined regeneration to baptism. He affirmed that wherever water is named alone in Holy Scripture, it refers to baptism, even when our Saviour spoke to

the woman of Samaria, which is a very bold assertion. He maintained that heretics cannot give the Holy Spirit, because they have not yet got it. He even went further than this, and declared that to make baptism effectual there must be faith both in the giver and receiver, which is entirely opposed to our Twenty-sixth Article. He confined baptism to the Church, and insisted that the water should be sanctified before baptism by the priest.¹ We wonder whether the Jordan was all consecrated by Philip when he baptised the Ethiopian chamberlain. Nevertheless he held that a man must be born of water and of the Spirit, that is, from above; and that baptism profits nothing unless it be followed by good works; and that as man's sins were entirely forgiven at baptism, so they were forgiven after baptism by almsgiving, or, in other words, that a man is partly justified by works. That infants were baptised in his day is manifest from his decreeing that an infant might be baptised before the eighth day of its birth. Cyprian did not believe in the *opus operatum*, but he surmises that Stephen, bishop of Rome, believed in it. It is not possible to examine too thoroughly this doctrine about baptism, because it has so much to do with the high sacramentarian notions that afterwards arose. It is also closely connected with the idea of a priesthood. We should also bear in mind, in treating

¹ We consider this is very different from the words in our baptismal service, 'Didst sanctify the element of water to the mystical washing away of sin;' for immediately afterwards the prayer goes on, 'Wash them and sanctify them with the Holy Ghost,' showing that water was the mere symbol of cleansing.

of baptism, that we have confined it to adult baptism, when faith and repentance were absolutely necessary to make it effectual ; but the necessity of these gradually began to disappear as the sacerdotal power increased, till we hear of Clovis (in 496), king of France, making a vow that if he gained a victory he would become a Christian, and have all his army baptised into the Christian faith.

In like manner the Lord's Supper was gradually exalted to a position which was never intended. In the so-called Apostolic Fathers we hear little or nothing about the celebration of this sacrament, but in Justin Martyr we read of the elements 'over which the thanksgiving was pronounced.' There is nothing here of any sacrifice or any altar ; but that it was called the Eucharist (giving of thanks). He also adds : ' We have been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of his Word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh ;' which are almost the words of our Saviour himself, and which he afterwards quotes.

Irenæus, in reasoning with the heretics, maintains that, after the invocation, the bread was not common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly ; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity. It is difficult to understand what meaning *Irenæus* attached to the word 'corruptible,' but surely the baptised Christian has the hope of the resurrection to eternity, even though he

may not have received the Eucharist. We see, however, that by attributing some mysterious powers to the elements after consecration, just as in the water of baptism, the sacerdotal theory arose till it culminated in the real or corporeal presence. Irenæus, however, goes on to argue that our bodies are nourished by his body and blood, quoting St. Paul's words, "We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones," not saying these things of some spiritual and invisible man, (for the Spirit has neither flesh nor bones); which is very inconsistent with his saying that after the invocation it is no longer common bread. In another passage he says: 'The oblation of the Eucharist is not a carnal, but a spiritual one.' We confess that these passages referred to are apparently confused and contradictory.

Clemens Alexandrinus had sound views of the Lord's Supper, when he tells us that it was wine and not blood that was drank, and that the elements were used only figuratively, and that those who by faith partake of them are sanctified both in body and soul.

Origen speaks of the bread being a symbol of our gratitude to God. Though he had a peculiar regard for the consecrated elements, he clearly distinguished between the spiritual partaking of them and that carnal mode with which it was soon after confounded.

Cyprian, as we have seen, had high notions of the Church, the priesthood, and both Sacraments, but he does not express himself as to any corporeal or real presence in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. He

uses the words sacrifice, priest (*sacerdos*), and altar, which had already become common with the Fathers, we think only in a spiritual sense ; but there is no doubt, by unguarded and often confused and contradictory language, they laid the foundation for the Romish dogma of transubstantiation and the less excusable one of the ritual real presence, which have caused so much controversy since the days of the Apostles.¹ We thus see how unsafe and insecure it would be to be guided by the Fathers, and the necessity of bringing their opinions to the touchstone of truth, that sure word of prophecy, God's Holy Scripture.² We hear nothing in the Fathers we have examined of auricular confession. Tertullian does talk of the necessity of fasting and rolling at the feet of the presbyters before baptism ; and Cyprian, in addressing those who had lapsed from the Christian faith, advised them to confess their sin, that they might obtain satisfaction and remission by the priests which was pleasing to the Lord. But all this was very different from auricular confession, which was afterwards so much abused. Several of the early Fathers were great ascetics. Some contended for monogamy for laymen as well as clergymen ; others exalted celibacy to such an extent that even the clergy or priests, as they were called, gave way to concubinage ; and hence the *συνείσακτοι* or *subintroductæ*. It is supposed that some allusion is made to this in the 'Shepherd of

¹ There is only one other way of accounting for the Fathers contradicting each other, and often themselves, and that is by supposing that their writings have been much interpolated.

² Cyprian himself advises this, calling the Scriptures the Divine tradition, the fountain head from which the pure streams flow. Ep. 74.

Hermas,' and no doubt Cyprian refers to it in the 5th, 6th, and especially the 62nd Epistle.'¹

We have found nothing in the early Fathers about worshipping the Virgin Mary, the invocation of saints and angels, or paying undue reverence to images and reliques. The only passage about the Virgin is that in Irenæus to which we have referred, in which he speaks of her being the advocate or patroness of Eve, and by her obedience doing away with the disobedience of Eve. But this may be considered merely an unguarded expression, like many others of the Fathers. Some, indeed, think it an interpolation, others that it is to be taken in a figurative sense.²

Neither have we met with any doctrine of purgatory; or of works of supererogation; any ritual robes or garments, symbolical of any real presence, such as our modern ritualists would have us believe in. All these things were inventions in later times, when the sacerdotal theory had been established, and which became necessary as adjuncts to give *éclat* to their ceremonies, and to awe the minds of the ignorant and credulous in a barbarous age. Notwithstanding that Cyprian, with all his high notions of the episcopal dignity, is the *beau idéal* of a bishop in the opinion of Romanists and Ritualists, we question very much whether he attached anything but a spiritual meaning to the words priest, sacrifice, and altar, from a passage in his 'Treatise on the Lord's Prayer,' where he speaks of the brethren

¹ These Epistles, in the Oxford edition, are numbered respectively 4, 13, 14. See note k, p. 7, in Pusey's *Translation of Cyprian's Epistles*.

² See p. 162.

celebrating Divine sacrifices with the priest of God ;¹ and again, in his 'De Unctione Chrismatis,' he says that Christians are ordained of God priests of holiness. Tertullian tells us that the power of the keys was left not only to Peter but to the Church, and that every Christian who makes a good confession carries them with him.² Origen tells us that Peter was not the only Rock, but that all believers are rocks.³ Tertullian, in his 'De Exhortatione Castitatis,' writes that the authority of the Church constituted the difference between order and the people, thus disclaiming the idea of sacerdotalists—viz. that there is a priestly caste distinct from all true believers, who are called emphatically 'the Body of Christ.'⁴

¹ *De Oratione Domini*. See also Harrison's *Whose are the Fathers?* (Longmans & Co. 1867), where this subject is treated at much greater length, p. 71-5. If we are right in our interpreting Cyprian to have used the words in the above spiritual sense only, we can understand how the officiating minister was called the chief priest (*summus sacerdos*).

² *Adversus Gnosticos*, cap. x.

³ *Comment. in Matt.* cap. xvi.-xix.

⁴ 1 Cor. xii. 27.

STATE OF THE CHURCH FROM THE THIRD TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

We see, then, that the laity constitute the principal part of the Church, and the clergy are its ministers ; and not, as Orby Shipley would have us believe, that the Church is confined to the clergy.¹ Indeed, there is a passage in Eusebius where he confines the Church to the laity. After mentioning the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, he adds, ‘ and the Church of God ’ (καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ).²

Though Cyprian tells us that he had determined to do nothing without the consent of the people, the laity were beginning already to lose their power, till at last it disappeared altogether ; and, as Dean Milman says, ‘ The clergy assumed an absolute despotism over the mind of man ; not satisfied with ruling princes and kings, themselves became princes and kings.’³ We know very little about the early days of Christianity in Rome, and very little reliance is to be placed on the accounts given of the first bishops. It was natural, as we have seen, that the first city of the Roman empire should have a first place among the churches of the West ; but the bishop of Rome, even before Cyprian’s time, began to claim a pre-eminence over other bishops

¹ *The Church and the World*, ser. i. p. 238.

² Lib. vii. c. 30. This is in harmony with Holy Scripture, where we read (Acts xv. 4), “ They were received of the Church and of the Apostles and elders.”

³ *Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 7.

to which he was not entitled.¹ From the end of the third century his power gradually increased. The Emperor Constantine (the Great) protected the Christians from being persecuted, and connected the Church with the State, more it is believed from policy than from conviction of the truth of Christianity. In the year 325 he convoked the Council of Nice, and was present at some of the debates. It was a great thing for the Christians to be allowed to worship God according to their own conscience, and to build and consecrate churches to the worship of their Redeemer.² It would have been well if, when the power fell into their hands, they had imitated the example of the emperor in tolerating those who differed from them, which they did not do. 'The clergy,' says Sismondi, 'were the only body that had survived the dissolution of the empire, and their organisation acquired strength in proportion as the other bonds of social order became relaxed. It was by entering the Church that men obtained glory, riches and power, contrasted with those who entered the army.'³ Pecuniary and political privileges were, from time to time, granted to the clergy by the emperors; and though the bishops, in the beginning of the fourth century, were chosen by the flock, they soon lost this privilege. The thirteenth canon of the Council of Laodicea forbids the people from taking any part in the elections for the priesthood.⁴ The bishops

¹ See p. 187.

² Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* (Tegg. 1860), vol. iii. c. xx. pp. 208, 9; and Giannone's *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. ii. c. 8.

³ *Histoire des Français*, vol. i. p. 93.

⁴ The date of this council is not certain, but is supposed to have been between 314 and 363.

obtained the sole power of choosing the clergy, and ordained them by laying on of hands. The bishops could only be judged by their peers, even when accused of a capital crime. The Christian temple became an asylum for criminals.¹ Formerly the idolaters persecuted the Christians, now the bishops persecuted the idolaters. A celebrated St. Martin, bishop of Tours (372), is said to have been distinguished by placing himself at the head of an armed band, and destroying their temples and putting them to the sword.² Good deeds done to the Church were considered a better passport to heaven than good actions, and miracles were more admired than good works. At the Council of Orleans (511) the clergy obtained immunities they never enjoyed before. Homicides, adulterers, thieves, ravishers, and slaves, might find an asylum in the Church. The wealth and the power of the clergy increased enormously. They pretended to work miracles, and they canonised saints. ‘No less than thirty bishops and seventy-one other clergy were canonised as saints in the reign of Clovis and his sons.’³ So corrupt did the Church become, that the clergy winked at the foibles and sins of those who ruled over them, for the sake of increasing their own power and adding to their own worldly enjoyments. So profound was the ignorance abroad that scarcely anyone but the priests knew how to read, and this power they turned to great worldly advantage.⁴ They represented themselves as

¹ Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. iii. c. xx. pp. 252, 253.

² See his life by Sulpicius Severus, cc. ix.-xiv.

³ Sismondi's *Hist. des Fran.* vol. i. p. 308.

⁴ Towards the end of the fifth century Theodoric, the Ostrogoth,

the depositaries of all heavenly blessings, and that, at their own pleasure, they could open and shut the gates of the kingdom of heaven. It cannot be a matter of surprise that the ignorant populace were deluded by such representations, when kings and nobles believed that by a distribution of earthly blessings to the Church they could secure to themselves a heavenly inheritance. Till the end of the third century faith and practice were considered both as necessary to make a true Christian ; but they soon after became disunited, and the Church became more and more degenerate. ‘Religion first taught men what to do, next what to believe, and finally it was reduced to teach them what to pay, to dispense with either doing or believing.’¹ The most distinguished Fathers who wrote towards the end of the fourth century bear ample testimony to the state of the Church in their days. Gregory Nazianzen, in writing against the pride and luxury of the hierarchy, says he made a resolution to shun every convention of bishops, so great was their lust for power, that he never saw a council end happily.²

Ambrose wrote that bishops were ordained in his day without any qualification but that of paying a hundred gold coins.³

Chrysostom, when treating of the vices of the clergy, says that some have filled the churches with

though he had been educated for ten years at Constantinople, could neither read nor write. In the beginning of the sixth century Justin I., Emperor of the East, was in a similar position. Even Charlemagne, at the end of the eighth century, though able to read, could not write.

¹ Sismondi's *Hist. des Fran.* vol. ii. p. 50.

² *Epist. ad Procopium et ad Philagrium*, vol. i.

³ *De Dignitate Sacerdotali*, cap. v. col. 382.

murders, and made cities desolate, in order to become a bishop.¹

Jerome, bearing witness to the corruptions of the clergy at Rome, calls them a senate of Pharisees, and Rome herself the scarlet woman mentioned in the Book of Revelation.² The Emperor Valentinian I., in 370, whilst granting perfect religious liberty, published an edict, to be read in all the churches, to prevent the arts used by the clergy to obtain wealth.³ The avaricious spirit, however, of the clergy increased, and in the fifth century the revenues of the Church became very large. The Emperor Theodosius, in 434, passed a law in favour of Church property, and Pope Leo I. exercised his influence over the Emperor Valentinian III., not to correct his bad passions, for the indulgence of which he was assassinated by Maximus, but to increase the power of the Church. The clergy held as an axiom that it was a glorious thing to enrich the temporalities of the Church, but an unpardonable sin to take anything from them. Charles Martel, who had been the means of saving France from being overrun by Mahomedans and pagans, because he had made use of some ecclesiastical benefices to pay his soldiers, was a century afterwards doomed by the Church to eternal damnation ; showing that their debt of gratitude was not so lasting as the grudge they held him for using

¹ *De Sacerdotio*, lib. i. cap. x. In his Homil. III. in *Act. Apostol.* he says that the number of the bishops who might be saved bore a very small proportion to those who would be damned.

² *Præf. Interpret. Lib. Did. de Spir. Sanct.* Migne, vol. ii. p. 102.

³ He prohibited the clergy from receiving the bequests of women. 'A modification more discreditable,' says Hallam, 'than any general law could have been.'—*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 138.

some of their temporalities in driving back their own enemies.¹

In the seventh century the founding and enriching of convents became the great way to heaven. For this reason we have, in St. Denis' 'Life of Dagobert,' king of France, the example of this king lauded to the skies. We have another example in that of Sigebert, who is said to have founded twelve convents and to have been canonized before he reached twenty-one years of age, when he died. So great was the rage for peopling these convents when founded, that they bought slaves to fill them, and the principle mart at that time was England.²

The forced celibacy of the clergy, and monasticism, were no doubt some of the principal causes of the immorality of the Church. The monks no longer led a life of poverty and self-denial, which was the original intention of their withdrawing from the world; but by the liberality of the rich they gave way to the enjoyments that luxury and wealth could procure. In the eighth century St. Boniface, in his letters to Pope Zachary, tells us that the Church in Austrasia was in such disorder that the greater part of the cures and episcopal seats had been given to greedy laymen, or clergy of bad morals, the revenues of which they divided amongst their numerous concubines; that he knew some who kept four or five or more; and that many fugitive slaves, accused of murder and adultery,

¹ Sismondi's *Hist. des Fran.* vol. ii. p. 143. Charles Martel reigned from 715 to 741.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 59.

had become priests by receiving the tonsure (shaving the crown of the head), and were called bishops and priests, although they had never been ordained by true prelates. 'They enjoyed the reputation and riches of the clergy, they increased the superstition of the people, they countenanced every pagan practice and every belief that could bring them money.'¹ We give a specimen of the easy way in which the grossest sins were overlooked, provided the temporalities of the Church could be increased ; which will also show the barbarous state of the people in the eighth century. In the eighth article of the laws passed against crimes in the Capitularies of Vermeric (752), it is there written : 'Let the freeman who shall kill his father or his mother, his brother or his uncle, lose his own inheritance ; let him that has committed incest with his mother, his sister, or his aunt, lose it in like manner.'²

These Capitularies (or Chapter laws) were so called because they were held in Pepin's palace of Vermeric. This king had been assisted by Pope Zachary in usurping the French throne ; and though he had been crowned by St. Boniface, he was recrowned by Pope Stephen III., on whom he bestowed the exarchate of Ravenna, which he had taken from Astolfo, king of Lombardy. It was thus the papacy became a temporal sovereignty. But more than this, Pepin gave power to the Pope to choose and depose sovereigns, which he had no right to do, and which was

¹ See *Epistola Bonifacii ad Zachariam Papam*, *Script Fran.*, tom. iv. p. 90.

² *Capit. Verm.* §§ 8, 13, 14, 15, and *Compend. &c.*

never heard of before. In fact, Pepin gave himself entirely into the hands of the priests, who introduced the Latin language into their assemblies, which the soldiers could not understand. There was no such thing as politics in this reign ; all legislative power was in the hands of the priests. It was the Church, and nothing but the Church, that occupied men's minds.' ¹

The priests were invited to excommunicate not only those of their own body, but laymen and fallen women ; and everyone who broke these rules was to be excommunicated also, and whoever did not submit to the bishop was to be exiled by the king.² Pepin believed in miracles, and paid great honour to the relics brought from Rome. He devoted nineteen decrees to the enriching the Church, or bestowing upon it immunities. It was sometimes by false decretals, or pretended letters received from St. Peter himself, that the popes increased their power, and maintained it through all the Middle Ages. Dark deeds, which will never be explained on this side of time, and pretended miraculous punishments, had a wonderful effect on the minds of the ignorant and superstitious.³ Some were induced to part with their estates to the Church because they thought the world

¹ Sismondi tells us that the whole reign of Pepin was occupied by the *Grand Conseil* of the nation about incest, debauches, and all the abominations which afterwards occupied the minds of the Casuists (vol. ii. p. 178).

² The excommunicated was not to enter the Church, neither to eat nor drink with a Christian. No one allowed to kiss him or her, nor to unite in prayer, nor to salute them, till they had been reconciled to the bishop. (*Capit. Verm.* § ix. p. 172.)

³ See an account of the sudden death of Lothaire and his court, described in Sismondi's *Hist. des Fran.* vol. iii. pp. 149–55.

was coming to an end. There is no saying what the fear of death and of the damnation of hell will not produce in this respect. The Church property increased enormously, till, in the ninth century, it is believed to have reached more than the half of France.¹ Anyone might give away his property, but that of the Church was inalienable. Everyone was liable to death, but the priests never died. The sacerdotal power increased at the expense of the nobility. Abbots took the places of the counts, whom they more than rivalled in display, in ferocity, brutality, and taste for debauch. The people were taught to rely upon relics and sanctuaries for defence, and not their own courage. Single combats were to be replaced by fire or boiling water. Military exercises were set aside as pomps profane and unworthy the Christian religion.

The right of watching over the morals of the people, which they arrogated, and which the ignorant and superstitious world allowed, made the clergy all-powerful. The debauches of the rich men in the kingdom were a source of great profit to the clergy.

There were two other causes of contention in the Church, which are not entirely set aside to this day. The first, image-worship—a pagan practice introduced from the East, and tolerated to make the way of Christianity more easy to the heathen, and at a time when every indulgence or practice could be bought with money.² This practice was condemned by the

¹ Sismondi's *Hist. des Fran.* vol. iii. p. 101.

² See Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. viii. ch. xlix. p. 194, where he shows this custom was abhorred by the early Christians, and exercised

emperors and approved by popes and patriarchs, who denounced and excommunicated the iconoclasts; council denouncing and contradicting council; the issue depending very much whether the emperor or the pope ruled the council. Interdicts and excommunications were thundered forth to quell the storm, but all in vain; it still went on. The other cause of contention was the worshipping of the relics of saints, which prevailed more in the West, as the worshipping of images did in the East. The power of working miracles was ascribed to images and relics; and if anything could convince one of the superstition and credulity of those times, it may be found in the fact that the pious Augustine countenanced the invocation of saints, and lent his name and authority to a belief in the miracles wrought by the relics of the first martyr, Stephen. In his 'De Civitate Dei' he thus endeavours to support the truth of Christianity. He mentions no less than seventy miracles, 'of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years, and within the limits of his own diocese.'¹ However incredible these superstitious practices may seem to some, there are many who still believe in them. No

the wit of the Father Apologists, of whom Lactantius was the best and the most eloquent; at p. 197 he says: 'At first the experiment was made with caution and scruple; and the venerable pictures were discreetly allowed to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proselytes. By a slow, though an inevitable progression, the honours of the original were transferred to the copy; and the devout Christian prayed before the image of a saint, and the pagan rites of genuflexion, luminaries, and incense, again stole into the Catholic Church,' &c.

¹ *De Miraculis Sancti Stephani* (Migne's *Curs. Complet.* vol. vii. p. 833; and Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. v. p. 34).

doubt the Romish Church have made much worldly gain out of them.

It was in vain the emperors discouraged the increase of monasteries and forbade the worship of images; the power of the priests went on increasing. The reasons may be found in the avaricious and ambitious spirit that had taken possession of the Church; the sagacity the clergy displayed in their actions, the shrewd and clever members of the family being always destined for the priesthood, as being the best career a young man could follow for distinguishing himself, and obtaining glory, honour, and riches. The ignorance and superstition of the people, disposing them to a firm belief in the working of miracles by the bones and relics of saints, was another great cause of the influence of the priests over their minds. An example of this, in which all these points are combined, may be found as early as the fourth century, in the conduct of Ambrose of Milan, when he refused to obey the edict of the Emperor Valentinian to withdraw from Milan, though allowed to choose his place of exile. Professing to be guided by a dream to open the earth at a place where the remains of two martyrs had been buried above 300 years, he showed the people the bones and blood, which had such a wonderful effect on the ignorant rabble, that they rallied round him and enabled him to set at defiance the command of his lawful sovereign.¹ The arrogance and haughtiness peculiar to the sacerdotal caste he manifested in his conduct to

¹ See a full account of this in Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. iv. c. xxvii. pp. 352, 353.

the Emperor Theodosius, in demanding from him not a private but a public penance for his cruelty at Thessalonica, to which the emperor meekly submitted.¹ He showed a persecuting and intolerant spirit in insisting that the toleration of the Jews was the persecution of Christianity, and the endangering the emperor's salvation.² Ignorant of the true spirit of his Master's religion, he found an excuse for persecuting the heathen by the example of Josiah, and maintained that the magistrate is in some degree guilty of the crimes he tolerates, and that the greatest of all crimes is the worshipping of idols.³ It was thus that he worked upon the minds of Theodosius and Gratian his cruel plans for extirpating idolatry. Persecution was not to be confined to Jews and pagans; it was to be extended to their own brethren. Those who differed from the priests in their preconceived notions, and on points of less or greater importance, such as celibacy of the clergy, the monastic life, worshipping of images and relics, &c., were immediately stigmatized as heretics. Thus we find, for some trifling cause, Jovinian was ordered to be flogged and put in prison. Jerome, in one of his works now extant, inveighs against him; and in another, furiously attacks Vigilantius, bishop of Barcelona, who was the Protestant of those days; he calls him a monster, compares him to Hydra, Cerberus, &c. He considers him an organ of Satan, and that he ought to be put to death.⁴

¹ Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. iv. p. 373; and Ambrose, *Epist.* 51.

² Ambrose, *Epist.* 40; Augustin, *De Civitate Dei*; and Paulinus in *Vit. Ambros.* c. xxiv.; Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. iv. c. xxvii. p. 371.

³ *De Obiit. Theodos*; Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. v. c. xxviii. p. 2.

⁴ Jerome, *contra Jovin. et contra Vigilantium*. See also Mosheim's

In the eighth century, when Pepin gave Pope Stephen III. power to choose and depose sovereigns, he could scarcely know what he was about, for this power never escaped from the hands of the priests as long as his race was on the throne. The protection of France was necessary for the papacy, and he who occupied the chair knew well how to act. The kings of France also knew how to keep on good terms with the pope for gaining their own ends. Charlemagne protected Pope Hadrian against his enemy Desiderius, whom he defeated and shut up in a monastery; and though a general council at Nice, held in 787, decreed the worship of images, another council was held at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in 794, under the authority of Charlemagne, when the practice was strongly condemned. When this question was brought before Hadrian, he eluded it; and thus, it is said, avoided a breach in the Church. It was Pope Hadrian I. who, in 785, first made use of the False Decretals to extend his power; those documents which served as the basis of canon right and the supremacy of the pope to so many of his successors.¹ It would be impossible in a short space,

Eccles. History, vol. i. p. 459; Bayle's *Dict. historique*, art. 'Vigilantius'; and Dr. Gilly's *Life of Vigilantius*.

¹ These Decretals (or Pope's Letters) appeared in the eighth and not ninth century, as Dr. Hook says. They were first used by Pope Hadrian I. in 785, in the capitularies he addressed to the bishop of Metz, Enghebrand. They are ascribed to thirty popes succeeding each other. Their author is not known, but they are generally ascribed to Isidore Mercator, and pass under his name. No one now doubts that that collection is a gross imposition of a man who knew neither the manners nor the laws of the ancient Church. Their object is to extend papal power, and especially on the points on which Holy Scripture and the early Fathers are silent. Upon them was built the supremacy of the pope; and councils, repre-

and entirely foreign to our purpose, to describe all the means by which the power of the papacy increased. The history of the popes represents a continual struggle amongst rivals to obtain this position, partly on account of the riches belonging to the Church, and partly for the power that was so much a subject of envy. No doubt these two reasons also caused the perpetual strife with nobles and kings to obtain the coveted prize. It would be folly to believe there were no good men who filled the papal chair, but certainly the good seem to have been the exception.

‘Except in the annals of Eastern despotism, no parallel can be found for the disasters of the papacy during the century and a half which followed the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty (987). Of the twenty-four popes who during that period ascended the apostolic throne, two were murdered, five were driven into exile, four were deposed, and three resigned their hazardous dignity. Some of these vicars of Christ were raised to that awful pre-eminence by arms, and some by money. Two received it from the hands of princely courtizans. One was self-appointed. A well-filled purse purchased one papal abdication; the promise of a fair bride another. One of these holy Fathers pillaged the treasury, fled with the spoil, returned to Rome, ejected his substitute, and mutilated him in a manner too revolting for description.

‘In one page of this dismal history we read of the sending the infallible Church, have looked upon them as the basis of canon right, discipline, and even of the faith of Christianity. See Sismondi’s *Hist. des Fran.* vol. ii. pp. 324, 325; and Hook’s *Church Dictionary*, art. ‘False Decretals.’

disinterred corpse of a former pope brought before his successor to receive a retrospective sentence of deposition ; and in the next we find the judge himself undergoing the same posthumous condemnation, though without the same filthy ceremonial. Of these heirs of St. Peter, one entered on his infallibility in his eighteenth year, and one before he had seen his twelfth summer. One again took to himself a coadjutor, that he might command in person such legions as Rome then sent into the field. Another, Judas-like, agreed, for certain pieces of silver, to recognise the Patriarch of Constantinople as universal bishop. All sacred things had become venal. Crime and debauchery held revel in the Vatican ; while the afflicted Church, wedded at once to three husbands (such was the language of the times), witnessed the celebration of as many rival masses in the metropolis of Christendom. It would be heretical to say that the gates of hell had prevailed against the seat and centre of Catholicism ; but Baronius himself might be cited to prove that they had rolled on their infernal hinges to send forth malignant spirits commissioned to empty on her devoted head the evils of bitterness and wrath.’¹

Is it through this chaos of corruption that the sacerdotal apostolic succession is to be traced ? As well might we expect a pure fountain to be obtained from the muddy waters of the Tiber. The wonder is that the papacy has not been destroyed root and branch ; and it is almost a miracle that Christianity has not perished with it. Certainly, if it had not been that

¹ Sir James Stephen's *Essays on Eccles. Biography*, pp. 1, 2.

some faithful witnesses to the truth have always been found, it would have been extirpated long ago.

In the fifth century Pope Leo I. (the Great) impiously arrogated for St. Peter fellowship of the Undivided Unity ; and, as his successor, for himself a position that no bishop of Rome had ever claimed before. At the beginning of the sixth century (503) a council at Rome declared the pope amenable to no human tribunal. About the end of the same century Gregory I. claimed authority over all foreign bishops and churches. With a kind of mock humility, in disclaiming against John, archbishop of Constantinople, for calling himself universal bishop, he signed himself 'Servant of the servants of God.' It was this pope (styled Gregory the Great) who sent over Augustin with a band of monks to evangelize Great Britain ; whose authority was for a long time resisted by the Church already planted there.

The power of the pope went on slowly, but stealthily and steadily increasing, till in the eleventh century it was to disclaim and entirely abnegate all civil interference either in the nomination of the pope or the appointment of bishops. This was to be the work of Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII. He seems to have possessed all the qualifications to be the pope of popes, the personification of sacerdotal arrogance and spiritual despotism. He may well be styled a pope-maker, for he had taken a leading part in the appointment of his five predecessors. A kind of Cardinal Wolsey in his day, he arose from a low grade, his father being a carpenter ; became prior of the monastery of Clugni ; then cardinal,

deacon, archdeacon, legate, and chancellor of the apostolic see ; and finally pope himself. He began his career by inducing Pope Leo IX. to discard the nomination of the Emperor Henry III. as a secular interference in the appointment of the successor of St. Peter, to lay aside the vestments, the insignia, and the titles of the pontificate, and to enter Rome as a pilgrim, with bare feet and lowly mien, on his way to the tomb of the prince of the Apostles. The clergy and populace of Rome were prepared to receive him with acclamations, and gave him, as he thought, a better title to the government of the Church. It was one of Hildebrand's peculiar qualities to know when to stand out, and when to give in. The next pope whom he proposed to the Emperor Henry was Gibhard, bishop of Eichstadt, who had always stood by Henry in his endeavour to check papal encroachments, and who took the title of Victor II. Hildebrand was rewarded for his services by being appointed legate to the court of France, where he ruled over the bishops with spiritual tyranny. The emperor soon died, and then the pope. His successor, Stephen IX., was chosen apparently by popular tumult, without the consent of the young emperor, but not without the influence of Hildebrand, who was immediately made cardinal archdeacon of Rome, and apostolic legate at the imperial court.

Stephen reigned only eight months, and before dying requested the Romans to wait till the return of the cardinal archdeacon before they chose his successor. The legate returned, bringing with him the consent of the empress-regent to place Gerard, bishop of

Florence, on the papal throne. He took the name of Nicholas II., summoned a council in 1059, who decreed that the right of choosing the pope should be henceforth vested in the College of Cardinals alone. This was no doubt brought about by Hildebrand, involving a principle dear to his heart, viz. to deprive the laity of their rights, and constitute a purely spiritual court. This was indeed a master-stroke, for the principle exists to the present day. It deprived the emperor of his right of confirming the choice of the pope, and was the cause of many wars; it also deprived the Roman clergy and people of their privilege of nominating their bishop.¹ Soon after this Nicholas died, and another pope must be found to take his place. The craft and sagacity of Hildebrand were equal to the difficulties which began to present themselves. An envoy was despatched to Agnes, the empress-regent, her son being still a minor, proposing that she should nominate the new pope, provided the cardinals alone should appear and vote. This proposal was rejected, and the Bishop of Parma was chosen by a synod of imperialist prelates assembled at Basle, and raised to the vacant chair by the name of Honorius II. Hildebrand and the cardinals were not to be outdone. They brought forth another candidate, the Bishop of Lucca, afterwards known as Alexander II. This contest led to some bloody battles, which ended in Alexander II. being established on the papal throne. Hildebrand had taken care to secure the support of the Norman princes

¹ We believe the power of the laity was merely nominal, and that the stroke was directly, almost entirely, against the emperor.

and other powerful lords, and was rewarded by being appointed chancellor of the holy see, the highest office to which he could attain, and next to the pope himself. The character of Hildebrand is said to have been severe. Endowed with great sagacity, he showed wonderful self-government and self-abnegation. Every one of the five popes we have mentioned were indebted to him for their place of exaltation; and when each was settled in the chair, his was the great moving mind that guided affairs, whether as cardinal, archdeacon, legate, or chancellor. The time was now come when the fruit was ripe to be plucked from the tree—when the long-coveted prize was within his reach. In the year 1070, during the solemn service commending the soul of the departed pope Alexander II. to repose, suddenly a voice was heard proclaiming that, by the will of St. Peter himself, the cardinal chancellor was pope. This was ratified soon after by another voice of one of the cardinals, who announced his election by the unanimous choice of the Sacred College. ‘He who nominated five popes was assuredly no passive instrument in his own nomination. His letters, written on the occasion, would alone be sufficient to prove, if proof were wanting, that a career thus far guided by the most profound sagacity was not abandoned at its crisis to the caprice of a dissolute multitude.’¹ Hildebrand was thus elevated to the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Gregory VII. Now there was going to begin a great struggle between the spiritual and the civil power. The times and circumstances were peculiarly

¹ Stephen's *Eccles. Biography*, p. 8.

favourable for establishing the vast theocratic state which seems to have been the ruling dream of Gregory's life. His scheme began, as we have seen, in the appointment of Leo IX. by the Emperor Henry III., and never ended till Gregory himself breathed his last. The death of the emperor, the minority of his son, the young heir to the throne, his being kidnapped by the Archbishop of Cologne (afterwards canonised, and called St. Anno), and exposed to a life of debauchery and corruption, whilst his estates and treasures were plundered and divided amongst a chosen few, all tended or were planned to help Gregory in his endeavour to subjugate the civil to the ecclesiastical power. Henry IV. was afterwards excommunicated for the very sins and evil habits that St. Anno and his coadjutors had tempted him, in his youth, to commit or contract.

The character of the widowed empress being of a soft, pliable nature, and worked upon by superstitious fear, was also very much in favour of Gregory's accomplishing his purposes. His object was nothing less than to assert his legitimate dominion over all the rulers of the earth, whether emperors, kings, or magnates. They were to hold their crowns from him as the Vicegerent of God, to whom he alone was responsible. He acknowledged no superior, equal, or competitor on earth. He was too wise and sagacious to know that he could ever accomplish such ends without great opposition and strife; but he seemed satisfied that it was the cause of the Church he was espousing, and he was willing to risk his own crown, and even to die a

martyr, rather than not succeed. In the reign of Pope Victor II., Gregory, whilst legate in France, summoned before him no less than eighty of the bishops and dignitaries of that kingdom whom he, not without reason, accused of simony.¹ So strict was his discipline, and keen his power of discrimination, that the people thought he was endued with supernatural powers in discerning spirits. There were still two points to which he particularly directed his attention, viz. the celibacy of the clergy and the right of investiture. It is wonderful that a man of Gregory's shrewdness and discernment could not see the impossibility of entirely enforcing these two points. The first is not justified by the laws of God, and the second is against the rights of men; so true is it that when any man is imbued with fanatical views about the Church, he loses sight of everything else. We have said the first is not justified by the laws of God. St. Peter himself

¹ Simony was by no means confined to the clergy, but laymen were also guilty of selling benefices. An instance is cited by Muratori of the Marquess of Tuscany, father of the Countess Matilda, whom Hallam calls the greatest prince in Italy, being flogged by an abbot before the altar for being guilty of this practice. Muratori's words are: '*Secondo l'abuso commune di questi tempi corrotti, i re, i principi, e i vescovi vendevano, cioè conferivano le chiese per danari; il santo abbate Guido diede al marchese Bonifazio una buona disciplinata, e gli fece promettere di guardarsi in avvenire da questo abominevole e sacrilego mercato.*'—*Annal. d'Italia*, vol. ix. p. 357. It was the custom in these days to chronicle events in Latin hexameters or pentameters. The following is more explicit than Muratori gives it:

'Qua de re Guido sacer abbas arguit, immo
Hunc Bonifacium, ne venderet amplius, ipsum
Ante Dei Matris altare flagellat amaris
Verberibus nudum, qui deliciis erat usus
Pomposæ vovit tunc Abbatique Guidoni
Ecclesiam nullam quod per se venderet unquam.'

was a married man, and in Holy Scripture there is no law stronger on the point than the advice given by St. Paul on account of the times of persecution ; but every man was to be left to his own judgment. That the enforcement of this law was a burden too heavy for men to bear, was proved in the time of Gregory himself. Notwithstanding all the laws that had been passed against priests marrying, he was obliged to summon a council at the Lateran, who passed a law, not that priests should not marry, but that every priest should put away his wife, and that all laymen should absent themselves from services performed by married priests. This law, as was to be expected, caused bitter complaints and remonstrances, which were no sooner made known than they were silenced by papal menaces and rebukes. That a man who has power over himself should abstain from marriage to devote himself entirely to his Divine Master's service is not only lawful, but to be highly commended ; but to be forced by law so to do is nothing less than ecclesiastical tyranny, and it required a Hildebrand to carry it into effect. This law still reigns, but only in the Roman Church ; how vast the immorality it has caused will only be revealed at the great day of account.

As long as kings and princes had the power of conferring sees on bishops, the papal dominion was incomplete. This power had already been the cause of contention between popes and emperors, and was still unsettled. Gregory took occasion, whilst Henry and Otho were engaged in deadly strife, to get a law passed by an ecclesiastical council, forbidding all kings and

rulers to exercise henceforth their ancient right of investiture of any spiritual dignitary, and declaring that all ecclesiastical appointments are invalid which are not made by the pope. It is said that Gregory had the sagacity not to make this decree known at the time, but began to act upon it, by nominating one bishop, suspending another, deposing a third, and so forth. Thus by interfering with the government of every European potentate, he demanded, as vicegerent of the King of kings, universal obedience, and would have them understand that they not only had no right to claim investiture, but that they held their crowns at his will, and could be deposed at his command. This dictatorial and autocratic spirit pervades his whole letters, whether he is addressing the King of France, the King of Hungary, or the King of England.

We give a specimen of the claims made by this ecclesiastical autocrat, which is taken from the ‘*Dictatus Gregorii*,’ vii., and quoted by a German writer on the Reformation. ‘The pope alone has the right to use imperial insignia (*imperialibus insigniis*); all princes must kiss his foot alone; his name alone should be named in church; his name (the title pope) is unique in the world (*quod unicum est nomen in mundo*); he alone is competent to depose emperors; he has the right to remove bishops; and in every church, where he pleases, to ordain the clergy; no council can be called œcumenical without his command; his decrees can be changed by no one (*retractari*), but he can change the decrees of any one. He can be judged by no one . . . the Roman Church has never erred, and,

according to the testimony of Scripture, never will err.'¹

There is something grand, almost sublime, in the idea of an universal theocracy, by which all kingdoms of the earth were to be governed, and to the head of which every royal knee was to bow ; but the idea is only consistent with an infallible head ; if this is not true, then the claim becomes impious, and the arrogance contemptible. Such, we think, were the demands of Gregory VII. He has been called a Jupiter Ecclesiasticus, and a Czar Peter of the Church ; but he was not infallible, neither was he always politic or wise. He made the Emperor Henry IV. drink the cup of humiliation to the lowest dregs ; he caused him to take oaths which were never to be fulfilled, one of which was that he was never to revenge his humiliation. He employed the empress-widow to carry a mandate to her son to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, and the right of investiture by the Church. At another time he insisted on her being present at the degradation and excommunication of her only son, who in his youth had been taken captive from her, and exposed to the temptations for the yielding to which he was now excommunicated. Gregory has not been accused of many of the faults and crimes of several who have filled the papal chair, but lust for power seems to have been his ruling passion. To obtain this end he was most unscrupulous as to the means. His whole reign was one of war, murder, and strife. Twice did he excommunicate Henry IV., and twice was he himself deposed by a council under the

¹ See Bretschneider's *Reformation der Kirche*, p. 18. (Leipzig.)

influence of the emperor. In the early part of his career he carried everything before him. In Henry's weakness he was cruel and tyrannical. When there was a doubt whether Henry, or his enemy Otho, would prevail, he was vacillating and temporizing, ready to take the part of the stronger. But towards the close of his life he became weak and Henry became strong. Another pope, under the name of Clement III., was elected in his place. Rudolph, Henry's antagonist, was mortally wounded, and Matilda's army was defeated. Henry invaded Italy, took possession of Rome, where Clement was consecrated, and Henry crowned by him. Gregory was besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and finally fled to Salerno, where he died in 1085, after one of the most stormy reigns that ever pope had had. It is recorded that before he breathed his last he uttered these words: 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile!' If he had said 'I have loved ecclesiastical power and hated lay interference, and therefore I die in exile,' perhaps it would have been nearer the truth.

We have said almost enough to show to what extent sacerdotal arrogance can go. Soon afterwards the Crusades or Holy Wars were begun, which lasted for about two hundred years. Little did Pope Urban II. dream that, in encouraging Peter the Hermit to preach the first crusade against the Mahomedans, he was laying the foundation for overturning the sacerdotal power, which his predecessors had taken so much pains and labour to establish. The Crusades were worthy of the barbarous age in which they were undertaken, and

only in such an age could they have existed. When we consider the amount of treasure they cost, the cruel way in which they were carried on, the blood that was shed, and the little good that resulted from them, we can only look back upon them as acts of superstition, wickedness, and folly. They stand out as historical memorials, to teach us how little Christianity can be extended by the use of the sword. Nearly nine hundred years have elapsed since they were begun, but the holy places are still in the hands of the Mahomedans. It would be equally foolish to maintain that no good came out of the evil. After ages of ignorance, superstition, and moral death, the dawn of civilization and mental cultivation was about to begin. The motives of those who took part in these wars were, no doubt, various. Some would be fired with a holy zeal to deliver the places where Christ and some of his Apostles had lived and taught and died from the power of the infidels. Others would be influenced by a spirit of adventure and the hope of gain. Kings, princes, and nobles, would expect their dominion and power to be extended; and a few might wish, as pilgrims, to pay their devotions at the holy shrine—the cradle, so to speak, of Christianity. Many deeds of daring and chivalry were done and brilliant victories were gained. Jerusalem itself was more than once in the power of the Christians, but the end was disappointment. Anything, however, is better than torpor and lethargy, and great good resulted from the European nations uniting together for a common object. Interchange of thought, advantage of travel, especially from barbarous

to more civilized countries, all tended to open men's minds and to enlarge their ideas. Circulation of money, commercial intercourse with cities and towns, and the introduction of arts and sciences from the East, expanded the human mind and checked feudal tyranny. From this time the papal power began to decrease, but arrogance and lust for power did not so easily decrease. In the twelfth century we find that whilst Pope Calixtus II. was obliged by Henry V. to give up the right of investiture, Frederick I. (Barbarossa) submitted to Adrian by holding the pope's stirrup, but resisted the claim made by him when he asserted that Germany was a papal benefice. In like manner Henry II. of England did penance at Thomas-à-Becket's tomb, whilst he limited the pope's authority, and forbade appeals to Rome. The beginning of the thirteenth century is famous for the climax of clerical assumption and spiritual domination in the person of Pope Innocent III. He compelled Philip Augustus, king of France, to take back his queen Ingeburga, whom he had divorced ; he decided that Otho should be Emperor of Germany, and then insisted on having all the lands of the Countess Matilda and other territories in Italy restored. Because this request was not entirely complied with, he excommunicated Otho and endeavoured to transfer the empire of Germany to Frederick of Sicily. Because King John of England resisted the consecration of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent laid the kingdom under an interdict, excommunicated him, absolved the people from their oath of allegiance, deposed him, and finally transferred his kingdom to

Philip, king of France. John thus threatened, was obliged to submit to the pope, and do homage for his crown. Out of weakness comes forth strength, and out of darkness comes forth light. The very next year Stephen Langton, the nominee of the pope, urged the barons to demand from John a charter of liberties, which proved to be the foundation of English freedom. The Magna Charta was signed by John at Runnymede the year after, in 1215. Innocent, more far-seeing than the archbishop, attempted by a bull to annul it, which Langton refused to publish and the barons were willing to disregard. This year is also celebrated for the twelfth general council (fourth Lateran), when transubstantiation was decreed to be a doctrine of the Church, and auricular confession was to be henceforth enforced.

There was scarcely a kingdom in Europe where Innocent did not interfere, both in temporal as well as spiritual affairs. A well-known writer, in speaking of him, says : ‘ In the Council of the Lateran he acted as the ecclesiastical, almost as the temporal, sovereign of the East and West. Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity—the establishment of *transubstantiation* and the origin of the *Inquisition*.’¹ Thus it required more than twelve centuries to establish the doctrine of the real corporeal presence of our Lord in the bread and wine, for resisting which some were put to death and others were severely persecuted. With regard to the establishment of the Inquisition, it seems to be the climax of spiritual

¹ Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. x. c. lix. p. 173.

despotism. It remains as one of the foulest blots on the Roman Church. The way in which it was carried out admits of no excuse. The victims were stigmatised as heretics because they wished to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Strange though it may appear, the popes who were most distinguished for their severity of life, genius, and what was then called holiness, were the most distinguished for their unbounded ambition and spiritual despotism. Gregory VII. deposed Henry IV. of Germany, 'that all men might know that he not only had power to bind and loose in heaven, but also upon earth. Innocent III., not content with the pontifical power, claimed also the regal, comparing the former to the greater light the sun, and the latter to the moon, and asserting that he was God's vicegerent on earth.¹ Boniface VIII., in one of his bulls, declares that it is absolutely necessary for man's salvation that he be subject to the papal power.² In some of the Decretals the very foundation of morality seems to be sapped. Innocent III. decreed that an oath disadvantageous to the Church is not binding, and that an oath extorted by force could be annulled by ecclesiastical authority.³ Again, he laid down the maxim that out of the plenitude of his power he could lawfully dispense with all law.⁴ If arrogance and sacerdotal tyranny are a sign of power, surely

¹ See Muratori's *Vita Innoc. III.* tom. iii. p. 1, p. 448.

² This is what is understood by the French axiom, 'Hors de moi, point de salut.'

³ Hallam's *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 207.

⁴ 'Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.'—*Schmidt*, tom. iv. p. 235.

it was manifest in the reign of Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. But if the papal power had now reached its meridian glory, it was gradually to descend. It was in vain the Inquisition in France went on with its butcheries against the Albigenses; it was to no purpose that the Council of Toulouse (1229) interdicted laymen from reading the Scriptures, and Pope Gregory IX. forbade them to dispute on the doctrines of the faith. The discontent against papal exactions extended over England, France, Italy, and Germany. The Parliament of Merton rejected the canon law, and sent nobles and clergy to the Council of Lyons (1245) to protest against the exorbitant demands made upon them. Whilst the pope was offering Sicily to the Earl of Cornwall, the Parliament in Westminster Hall was resisting the papal taxes, and excommunicating all those who violated the Magna Charta. The people were becoming more intelligent, and gradually emerging from that ignorance and superstition that had hung so long, like a dark cloud, over them. It was in the year 1275 that the first English Parliament, consisting of knights of the shires, citizens, and burgesses, was summoned — the foundation of representative government in England. By degrees these three principles of liberty were established. 1st. That the king could not make laws without the consent of his Parliament. 2nd. That no taxes could be imposed without the consent of his Parliament. 3rd. That the king was to govern according to the laws of the land, and if he broke those laws, his advisers and agents were responsible.¹

¹ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 29.

These principles might one and all of them be occasionally violated by the king, as they no doubt were, and it would not be difficult to cite examples of such violation ; still, the tree of Liberty was planted, and became like one of those massive forest oaks, once but an acorn, which required time, and heat, and water, and air for its growth ; it has slowly but steadily increased so as to be able to weather many a blast, and remain firmly rooted in the ground. In proportion as the liberty and intelligence of the people increased, the power of the kings against the Church became strong. Boniface VIII. might issue his bulls forbidding ecclesiastics to pay the taxes imposed by temporal princes, but they were either resisted, despised, or burnt.¹ Of course the more money the clergy paid to princes, the less would they have to pay to the pope. But the demands of the papal sovereign were urgent ; money must be had in some way or other ; ‘rem, quocunque modo, rem.’ The crusades to Jerusalem had come to an end, but there were other crusades at home, such as that proclaimed by Innocent IV. against the pagans in Prussia and Courland, and that against the Albigenses in the south of France. It was no longer practicable to make pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre, but then there were the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. ‘Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the Crusades, remained without an object ; and the

¹ Philip IV. of France retaliated against the pope by prohibiting the export of money to Italy from his dominions. Edward I. of England compelled the clergy to pay, and placed any who refused out of the protection of the law. Philip burnt the pope's bull in 1302.

most valuable treasure of the Church was sequestered about eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface VIII., who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced; and on the 1st of January of the year 1300, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *customary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectively visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims, who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. . . . We are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers, and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each

individual would accumulate a royal treasure ; and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul.'¹ We will not dwell on the evils resulting from these pilgrimages ; but the same historian tells us that many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion, and that the pilgrims encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine ; many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy, and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop.² These indulgences, by the impatience and avarice of the popes, became more frequent, every fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years, and were one of the great means of hastening the Reformation. It would be of little use to describe in detail the contest that went on in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries between the sacerdotal and the civil power ; and would only be a repetition of exactions, extortions, and exorbitant demands on the part of the Church, followed by protests, refusals, and resistance on the part of the people. At one time the Diet of Germany would reject with indignation the arrogant demands of Pope Clement VI. ; at another the Parliament of England would pass a law forbidding the interference of the pope in bestowing benefices and livings in

¹ See John Villani (lib. viii. c. xxxvi.) in the 12th, and the *Chronicon Astense* in the 11th vol. (pp. 191, 192) of Muratori's *Collection*. 'Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici cum rastris,' &c.—Gibbon's *Rom. Emp.* vol. xi. c. lxix. pp. 266, 267.

² See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (lib. i. c. lvi.) in the 14th vol. of Muratori ; and the *Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. iii. pp. 75–89.

England; till there was a general discontent and resistance all over Europe. Excommunications, bulls, and fulminations of all kinds, thundered forth from the papal store-house, but became so frequent that at last they ceased to produce any effect. Literature and the arts and sciences, which were dawning, no doubt performed their part in delivering men from their long thralldom. Dante had written his 'Divina Commedia,' and taken an active part in politics; William Occam, Marsilius of Padua, and John of Janduno, had by their writings denied the temporal power of the pope over Germany and other countries. The tenets of Wickliffe were also extending, and producing a wonderful effect. One great cause of the diminution of the power of the Church was the 'great schism of the West,' when two popes were both appointed by the cardinals—Urban, who resided at Rome, and Clement at Avignon; the former supported by England, and the latter by France. This division led to open war between the popes, who excommunicated each other. Urban appointed the Bishop of Norwich to command a crusade against the supporters of Clement, first in England and then in Flanders. It was no uncommon thing in those days for bishops to use the earthly sword. Urban himself, after quarrelling with his cardinals and causing five of them to be put to death without any proof of their conspiring against him, headed an army against Naples, and was thrown from his mule. At his death another pope was appointed in his place, and thus the schism went on for more than half a century. The people by degrees not only resisted the exactions of the Church, but began to

envy the wealth of the clergy. In the early part of the fifteenth century the Parliament of England more than once petitioned Henry IV. to use the temporalities of the Church for the benefit of the people, and in 1414 one hundred and ten alien priories were surrendered to Henry V. to supply the wants of his treasury. The Council of Basle, in 1431, declared itself superior to the pope, and received a memorial from German prelates on the grievances of their church. The same council afterwards abolished the annats or first-fruits paid to the pope; suspended, and finally deposed him, and elected Felix V. in his place. In 1438 Charles VII. of France, by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, checked the papal authority, and established the far-famed liberties of the Gallican Church. By this decree it was established that the pope possessed no direct or indirect temporal authority in France. 2nd. That his spiritual authority could only be exercised in conformity with the canon law received by France. 3rd. That papal bulls were only valid when approved by the king.¹ This papal schism involved all Europe in the war and strife that went on. It was not merely a worldly or ambitious spirit that had taken possession of the popes, but their private character would not bear examination, and many of the sins of which some of them are accused are not even to be named. Cardinal Borgia, elevated to the papal throne under the name of Alexander VI., seems to have excelled them all in avarice, ambition, treachery, lust, and cruelty. Guicciardini tells us that at his funeral

¹ Fleury, Instit.

the people manifested their unspeakable joy to be delivered from such a monster of iniquity.¹ In the Book of Psalms we read : “ The earth is the *Lord's* and the fulness thereof ; ” but in the Vatican version Alexander VI. seems to have read, ‘ The earth is the *pope's* and the fulness thereof ; ’ for he was not satisfied with giving away thrones and dominions in the Old World, but he divided the yet undiscovered regions of the New World between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. Such was the character and spirit of some of the popes who preceded the great Reformation that was now dawning. Were we to examine into the state of the clergy during that time, we should not find it much better. When ambition, avarice, luxury, and immorality reigned, we have no right to expect that the doctrines of the Church should continue pure ; and such was the case. The manners of the people were corrupt, and religion lost its evangelical simplicity and became corrupt too. If we look closely into the errors that arose, such as the worshipping of saints, the veneration of relics, transubstantiation, purgatory and pardons, auricular confession, indulgences, and saying masses for the dead, &c., we shall find them more or less connected with the increase of the sacerdotal power, and the augmentation of the temporalities of the Church. The spirit of intolerance and persecution against those who differed from them was a great reason for the change that was approaching. The same bigotry that had in earlier days persecuted Jovinian, Vigilantius, and Arnold of Brescia, in

¹ ‘ Concorse al corpo morto d’Alessandro in San Piero con incredibile allegrezza tutta Roma,’ &c.—*La Hist. d’Italia*, vol. i. p. 314 (1636).

later times caused John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Savanarola to be burnt at the stake. Time would fail us to treat of the long persecutions and bloody wars against the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Lollards, the Huguenots, and the Protestants of England and Germany, and to unveil the horrors of the Inquisition, and of the thousands that were imprisoned, tortured and put to death by being burnt.¹ All these were insufficient to check the onward course of that light which was to cover the greater part of Christendom by the invention of printing.

‘About a hundred years after the rising of the

¹ Llorente, in his *Historia crítica de la Inquisicion de España*, tells us that the Inquisition in Spain was one of the greatest causes of the depopulation of Spain; taking into account those who fled, were banished and burnt, that instead of there being about eleven millions of inhabitants, as at present estimated, had there been no Inquisition, there might be between twenty and thirty millions, and that Spain is capable of supporting as many inhabitants as France. He calculates that, at the lowest figure, there must have been 31,912 burnt alive, 17,659 burnt in effigy, 291,450 subjected to severe penance; making altogether 341,021. His words are: ‘Calcular el número de victimas de la Inquisicion es lo mismo que demostrar practicamente una de las causas mas poderosas y eficaces de la despoblacion de España; porque á los millones de personas que le quitó el sistema inquisitorial, influyendo á la expulsion total de Judíos, Moros sumisos, y moriscos bautizados, añadimos cerca de medio millon de familias arruinadas por los castigos del Santo Oficio, resultará claramente que, sin la existencia de su tribunal, y de sus maximas, hoy tendria la España doce millones mas de personas sobre los once que se le suponen. Lo cierto es que la extension del territorio de Francia excede poquísimo al de la peninsula de España, cuyo suelo contiene mas *humus* ó tierra vegetal que el frances, y recibe del sol influencias mas favorables á la vegetacion, como prueban sus vinos, aceites y frutas; por lo que podia sustentar los veinte y ocho millones de almas que hay en Francia y que hubo en España cuando su territorio estaba dividido en seis reynos Christianos de Castilla, Leon, Galicia, Portugal, Aragon y Navarra, y ocho Mahometanos de Toledo, Sevilla, Cordova, Jaen, Granada, Murcia, Valencia y Badajoz.’—Vol. ix. c. xlvii. pp. 197-233 (Madrid, 1822).

Council of Constance,' says a modern writer, 'that great change emphatically called the Reformation began. The fulness of time was now come. The clergy were no longer the sole or the chief depositaries of knowledge. The invention of printing had just furnished the assailants of the Church with a mighty weapon which had been wanting to their predecessors. The study of the ancient writers, the rapid development of the powers of the modern languages, the unprecedented activity which was displayed in every department of literature, the political state of Europe, the vices of the Roman court, the exactions of the Roman chancery, the jealousy with which the wealth and privileges of the clergy were naturally regarded by laymen, the jealousy with which the Italian ascendancy was naturally regarded by men born on our side of the Alps; all of these things gave to the teachers of the new theology an advantage which they perfectly understood how to use.'¹

Of all the reasons given in the above quotation, perhaps the greatest, which is so slightly touched upon if referred to at all, is the printing of the Bible. This book is the Magna Charta of all true Christians; and if those who professed to be the guardians of it had studied it by night and by day, and carried its precepts into practice, the world would never have remained so long in darkness and superstition as it did. The priests and monks of the Middle Ages generally have the credit of being the conservators of literature and religion. It is no doubt true that for many centuries they were the almost alone possessors, but then they kept them

¹ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 46.

to themselves ; and if we hear of any attempt to extend education amongst the people, and even the clergy, it generally proceeded from some king or emperor, as in the case of Charlemagne, who brought Alcuin over from England, or Lothaire, who published an edict in 829, reproving the clergy for their total neglect of education, and established masters in Florence, Turin, Verona, and other places. Doubtless there have always been some, who, as faithful servants of God, have endeavoured to walk up to the light that was in them ; but it is no less true that a state of ignorance and superstition was the great cause of sacerdotal power so long prevailing. An ambitious and worldly spirit had taken possession of the rulers of the Church, which prevented the darkness being expelled. "Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, lest his deeds should be reproved."¹ An Augustine monk was to be one of the most honoured instruments in dispelling this darkness. Martin Luther, imbued with a religious spirit, and anxious to increase in knowledge, was encouraged by his friend Staupitz, vicar-general of the order, who advised him to study the Scriptures and the works of St. Augustine. He applied himself to the task. When his companions were fast asleep, he used to steal away in the dead of night to chapel, to read the Word of God. There was to be found a Bible chained to a desk, and by the aid of a lamp he was wont to ponder over its sacred contents. We can imagine, in his pious study, he would read such passages as these : "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path ;" "The entrance of thy

¹ John iii. 20.

words giveth light ; it giveth understanding to the simple.”¹ Then, again, when reflecting on the mere formality of religion around him, where his companions confined it to the performance of certain stated duties laid down by the Church, he might come across St. Paul’s address to the Corinthians, where he disclaims all self-sufficiency, depending entirely upon God: “Who also hath made us able ministers of the New Testament ; not of the letter, but of the spirit ; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.”² When meditating on the corruption and wickedness pervading the Church, he would remember the Apostle’s advice : “Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.”³ When dwelling on the sacred office of the ministry, he would remember the solemn address of St. Peter himself to the elders or presbyters of the Church : “Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight (ἐπισκοποῦντες) thereof, not by constraint, but willingly ; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind ; neither as being lords over God’s heritage (τῶν κλήρων), but being ensamples to the flock.”⁴ When led to call in question the propriety of the pope being a temporal sovereign, he would remember the snare the Jews laid to entrap our Saviour when summoned before

¹ Psalms cxix. 105, 130.

² 2 Cor. iii. 6.

³ Hebrews xii. 14.

⁴ 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. We would again call the reader’s attention to this remarkable passage, which shows the equality of the presbyter and the bishops, in apostolic times, the Apostle himself taking the name of co-presbyter, and using the word ἐπισκοποῦντες (taking the oversight, or exercising the part of bishop) ; and also the word κλήρος (God’s heritage or God’s people), and not the clergy, as they were afterwards called. The words also strongly condemn the carnal and worldly spirit, as well as the sacerdotal tyranny, that prevailed in the Middle Ages.

Pilate, who asked him, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence;"¹ thus disclaiming all earthly sovereignty, and showing that his reign is a purely spiritual one. 'Of all the errors, frauds and superstitions of the Church of Rome, the one which proved most injurious to religion and morals, and that which was most deplored by enlightened and conscientious men, was the facility with which riches were allowed to purchase salvation! Wealth was invested in monasteries, shrines and chantries; and few persons who had any property at their own disposal went out of the world without bequeathing some of it to the clergy for saying masses, in number proportioned to the amount of the bequest for the benefit of their souls. Thus were men taught to put their trust in riches; their wealth being thus invested, became available to them beyond the grave; and in whatever sins they indulged, provided they went through the proper forms and obtained a discharge, they might purchase a free passage through purgatory, or at least an abbreviation of the term and a mitigation of its torments while they lasted.'²

It was the love of money, and the abominable doctrine that sins could be pardoned for money, that led to the scandal of indulgences being sold. It was in 1513 that Leo X., of the Medici family, and one of the most accomplished of the popes, ascended the throne. He

¹ John xviii. 33, 36.

² Maunder's *Treasury*, art. 'Reformation.'

was a great patron of the arts and literature ; prodigal, luxurious and extravagant in his tastes, which of course could not be indulged without a great deal of money. Indulgences were to be had at one time only at a considerable sacrifice, either by going to take part in the Crusades at Jerusalem, or by making a pilgrimage to Rome, but in Leo's time they were brought to your own door. As money was required, and the pope counted on the superstition of the people, every difficulty vanished before him, and like traffickers in money speculations, he was ready to make the supply equal to the demand. He therefore sent off a great number of preachers, among whom was a Dominican monk named Tetzels, who, like a true *charlatan*, vaunted and extolled the value of his indulgences, declaring them capable of pardoning all sins, however deep their dye ; and good not only for the living, but also for the dead. 'The very moment,' said he, 'that the money clinks at the bottom of the chest, the soul escapes from purgatory and flies to heaven.'¹ It was this gross abuse of the sacerdotal power that hastened the Reformation, by stirring up Luther's disgust, who published his ninety-five propositions, denying the validity of indulgences and the supremacy of the pope. He also maintained that man is justified neither by money nor by his own works, but only, for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith ; laying the foundation of the cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, viz. 'That man is justified by faith only,' which

¹ 'So bald das Geld im Kasten klingt,
So bald die Seel in Himmel springt.'

the eleventh Article of the Church of England says is 'a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort.' Another result arose from the public disputation that was held at Leipzig : viz. that Holy Scripture and not tradition is the ground of authority in religion, and that every man has a right to read and expound it for himself. This doctrine is only second in importance to the former, and establishes another basis of agreement for all those who call themselves Protestants. Luther was a man wonderfully fitted for the great contest with the papal power. Well versed in the sacred writings, convinced of their truth and the sacredness of his cause, he remained firm as a rock, and bold as a lion. The pope might issue a bull condemning him to eternal punishment, but he only answered by burning the bull and proclaiming the pope to be Antichrist. He was summoned by a temporal power to appear before the Diet of Worms, an assembly consisting of spiritual and temporal dignitaries, at that time the most august assembly in the world. When warned of the danger to which he would be exposed, he replied that 'If there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the roofs of its houses, I would go on.' Protected by the Elector of Saxony, and fortified with undaunted courage, he presented himself before the emperor, archduke, electors, dukes, margraves, bishops, prelates, and princes, &c., acknowledged all his writings, made his defence, and requested to be convinced by the testimony of Scripture and the clearest arguments, or he would not recant. 'Here I stand,' said he; 'I cannot

do otherwise, so help me God, Amen.' (Hier steh ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helf mir, Amen.)

It is difficult to realize the dangerous position in which the reformer was placed ; but he had counted the cost. He was excommunicated by the pope, and now stood before the Emperor Charles V., who was against him, with all his dignitaries ; but Luther's courage did not fail him. He had the truth on his side, and was convinced that it would prevail. Yea, he no doubt looked up for support to the God of truth, who would stand by him, and in the words of one who had also been compassed with enemies, he would say, " The Lord is on my side ; I will not fear ; what can man do unto me ? " " It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man. It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes." ¹ That power, which for many centuries had made emperors quake and kings tremble, was now to be defied by the monk of Erfurt. The struggle was a desperate one, and in a worldly point of view the odds were against him ; but he knew that God was his strong tower, and every difficulty vanished before him. He was about to accomplish what Wickliffe had begun, what John Huss and Jerome of Prague endeavoured to carry on, and for which they sacrificed their lives, viz. a reformation in the Church. He also laid the foundation of civil as well as religious liberty, which, though distinct, are intimately connected. The papal power received such a blow as it never received before ; a blow from which it never has, and, as we believe, never will recover.

¹ Psalm cxviii. 6, 8, 9.

Our object is not to make Luther a perfect man ; far from it. He had his faults as well as other men, and it was not to be expected that, born and trained in the Romish Church, he should get rid of all his prejudices, as we may see in his maintaining the doctrine of consubstantiation ; more difficult, in our estimation, to defend than that of transubstantiation. He was of an overbearing and dogmatic temperament, and could not bear opposition from those who differed from him. Notwithstanding all his faults, he was the hero of his day ; and to him, humanly speaking, the world is much indebted for the civil and religious liberty they now enjoy. If there is any doubt on this point, we would ask the reader to look to the wonderful intellectual development of the people in the north and centre of Europe, who embraced the Reformation ; of the increase of freedom and industry and riches ; and compare them with what has taken place in those of the south—Austria and France, and Spain and Italy. Austria is now struggling for liberty, by trying to get rid of papal interference in her dominions. France has never been so much under the power of the pope as the other countries, from having had her ‘ Gallican Liberties ’ guaranteed ; but there is perhaps more infidelity in that country for this reason, that Romish errors tend to drive the weak-minded into bigotry and superstition, and the more reflective into infidelity or atheism. Spain has perhaps suffered more than any other country in Europe from Romish dominion and misgovernment by her rulers. Though from her soil and climate she may be called the

garden of Europe, her present state and appearance is one of desolation and woe. Italy, the cradle and nurse of popery, ought to have remained faithful to her spiritual and temporal rule if it had been of that mild and Christian nature that some would have us to believe. On the contrary, worn down by oppression, province after province gradually threw off the yoke, till at last the papal territory alone remained. Even then the power of the pope was maintained, contrary to the wish of his subjects, by foreign bayonets. Now that France has been overrun by German legions, and her power ground down to the dust, the Romans have taken advantage of the opportunity, rebelled against their sovereign, and by universal suffrage have chosen another king to reign over them. The pope having lost all his earthly possessions, the spiritual and the temporal power have been divorced, and he is now a pensioner of the king of Italy.

We give the opinion of one who thinks that we owe more to the Roman Catholic religion than we are disposed to allow. 'From the time when the barbarians overran the Western Empire to the time of the revival of letters, the influence of the Church of Rome had been generally favourable to science, to civilisation, and to good government. But during the last three centuries, to stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object. Throughout Christendom, whatever advance has been made in knowledge, in freedom, in wealth, and in the arts of life, has been made in spite of her, and has everywhere been in inverse proportion to her power. The loveliest and most fertile provinces

of Europe have, under her rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor ; while Protestant countries, ever proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes and statesmen, philosophers and poets. Whoever, knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what four hundred years ago they actually were, shall now compare the country round Rome with the country round Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgment as to the tendency of papal domination. The descent of Spain, once the first among monarchies, to the lowest depths of degradation ; the elevation of Holland, in spite of many natural disadvantages, to a position such as no commonwealth so small has ever reached, teach the same lesson. Whoever passes in Germany from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant principality, in Switzerland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton, in Ireland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilisation. On the other side of the Atlantic the same law prevails. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada remain inert, while the whole continent round them is in a ferment with Protestant activity and enterprise. The French have doubtless shown an energy and an intelligence which, even when misdirected, have justly entitled them to be called a great people. But this apparent exception, when examined, will be found to confirm the rule ; for in no country

that is called Roman Catholic has the Roman Catholic Church, during several generations, possessed so little authority as in France.

‘It is difficult to say whether England owes more to the Roman Catholic religion or to the Reformation. For the amalgamation of races and for the abolition of villanage she is chiefly indebted to the influence which the priesthood in the Middle Ages exercised over the laity. For political and intellectual freedom, and for all the blessings which political and intellectual freedom have brought in their train, she is chiefly indebted to the great rebellion of the laity against the priesthood.’¹

In treating of the sacerdotal power, we have naturally been led to speak largely of the papal power, as being the representative of the Roman Catholic Church ; but the same spirit of ambition, worldly-mindedness, and tyranny, pervaded the clergy as a body. It was to be found in their councils, their dioceses and their parishes, their inquisitions, their persecutions, and their penances. In fact, it pervaded all their ministrations, whether of sacraments or services. ‘It ought always to be remembered that *ecclesiastical* and not merely *papal* encroachments are what civil governments and the laity in general have had to resist—a point which some very zealous opposers of Rome have been willing to keep out of sight. The latter arose out of the former, and perhaps were in some respects less objectionable. But the true enemy is what are called High-Church principles, be they maintained by a pope, a bishop, or a presbyter.

¹ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 48.

Thus Archbishop Stratford writes to Edward III.: " Duo sunt, quibus principaliter regitur mundus, sacra pontificalis auctoritas, et regalis ordinata potestas ; in quibus est pondus tanto gravius et sublimius sacerdotum, quanto et de regibus illi in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem ; et ideo scire debet regia celsitudo ex illorum vos dependere judicio, non illos ad vestram dirigi posse voluntatem " (Wilkin's " Concilia," ii. p. 663). This amazing impudence towards such a prince as Edward did not succeed ; but it is interesting to follow the track of the star which was now rather receding, though still fierce.'¹

If the above quotation had been written for the present state of the Church, it could not have been more apposite.

It is indeed from extreme High Church principles that the civil government and laity have reason to fear. When every priest becomes a pope in his own right, and sets himself above all civil law, there is no use in reasoning with him, and he ought to be treated either as a fool or a fanatic. It is, as we have maintained all along, because the laity have lost their right of governing the Church, that the sacerdotal power has prevailed. Wherever sacerdotal dominion is properly carried out, it strikes at the root of all civil and religious liberty, the two principles being entirely antagonistic to each other.

It would be interesting to consider whether at the Reformation the Church of England got rid of priestly

¹ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 253, n.

dominion, or whether it did not linger behind, and more than once try to gain an ascendancy ; and how it has again appeared under the form of Puseyism, Tractarianism, Ritualism, or by whatever name it may be called. But we have far exceeded the limits we anticipated, and must therefore for the present lay down our pen.

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1



the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age has increased by 1.2 billion, from 1.1 billion in 1980 to 2.3 billion in 1999. The number of people aged 15 years and over has increased by 1.5 billion, from 1.9 billion in 1980 to 3.4 billion in 1999. The number of people aged 65 years and over has increased by 0.5 billion, from 0.3 billion in 1980 to 0.8 billion in 1999.

There are a number of factors which have contributed to the increase in the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age. One of the main factors is the increase in the number of people who are having children at a younger age. This is due to a number of factors, including the fact that people are having children at a younger age than in the past, and the fact that people are having more children than in the past.

Another factor is the increase in the number of people who are surviving into old age. This is due to a number of factors, including the fact that people are living longer than in the past, and the fact that people are having more children than in the past. This is due to a number of factors, including the fact that people are having children at a younger age, and the fact that people are having more children than in the past.

The increase in the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is a major challenge for the world. It is a challenge because it means that there are more people who need to be educated, and more people who need to be employed. It is a challenge because it means that there are more people who need to be supported by the state, and more people who need to be cared for by their families.

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